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THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. THOMAS' ABBEY,
DUBLIN

By Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., *Member.*

1. THE TWO MONASTIC REGISTERS.

IN 1889 Gilbert printed a thirteenth-century register of St. Thomas' Abbey, commonly known as Thomascourt, from an Oxford manuscript (Rawlinson MS. B.500) which had formerly been in the library of Sir James Ware.¹ Gilbert has this to say about the date of this manuscript: "The name of the compiler or the date of transcription is not stated, but, from the character of the writing and the age of the contents, the production of the body of the volume may be assigned to the latter part of the thirteenth century."² Dr. Charles MacNeill examined this manuscript for the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1929, and was able to add a more definite clue to the date by printing for the first time the full text of two documents from this register.³ These documents are copied in the main hand of the rest of the volume, and fill the last folio (f. 87v) of the manuscript. The first of them is a commission from Pope Gregory X (who was elected on 1st September, 1271) to the bishop of Meath and the abbot of St. Thomas, empowering them to use ecclesiastical censures for the protection of Lord

¹ *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin*, edited by John T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, 1889). I shall cite this volume henceforth as *Register*.

² *Register*, p. xii.

³ *Analecta Hibernica* I (1930), pp. 164-7.

Edward's possessions in Ireland. As Cardinal Theobald Visconti the new Pope had accompanied Lord Edward to the Holy Land, and was actually in Palestine at the time of his election. This commission is dated from Orvieto, 'xii kal. Augusti pontificatus nostri anno primo' (21 July, 1272). This earliest register of Thomascourt was thus compiled after July, 1272, and probably soon after that date.

This conclusion is confirmed by a careful analysis of the various gatherings out of which the volume was composed, and which can still be traced in its present very imperfect state. Gilbert made no effort at all to note the beginning and end of each gathering, and the brief account he gives of the handwriting in his preface and in some of his foot-notes is most inaccurate and misleading. Moreover, he makes no comment on the complete absence of royal and papal charters from the register in its present state: though this fact alone might have caused him to suspect that at least one gathering was missing from the beginning of the volume.

In its present state the volume opens with a gathering of twelve leaves, which Gilbert has numbered ff. 1*, 1-11. In the manuscript the numbering is confused at this point. An old system of numerotation begins at Gilbert's f. 1, but is not carried beyond the second leaf. A later hand (probably Sir James Ware) has begun numbering at f. 1*, but by an error has omitted f. 3 after f. 2. This has been supplied by a modern librarian as f. 3a, so that the rest of the count is in line with Ware's numbering. On the verso of f. 1* there is a list of sixty-one charters, written in a hand contemporary with the main hand of the register, and listing all the charters now found on ff. 1-9. The end of this series is noted in a handwriting (? Ware's) of the seventeenth century at the foot of f. 9v: *Hucusque prima tabula*. The charters begin on f. 1 with a title: 'In episcopatu Midens'. There are sixty-nine charters in this first gathering, for eight further charters concerning Meath have been entered on the last two leaves of this first gathering (ff. 10, 11); they have been written in various hands. The next four leaves (ff. 12-14) break the sequence at this point; they contain the text of thirteen charters, written in more than one hand.

On f. 11v, at the end of this first gathering, there is a list of thirty-eight charters, written in the same hand as the list on f. 1*; but these charters are not all in the register to-day. With the exception of the first three on the list, which are now missing, these charters begin on f. 16, and end on f. 20; but there is a chasm in the manuscript after f. 16, where five more charters are missing from the list. It is plain that this list on f. 11v is a list of the earliest charters relating to the abbey's lands in the diocese of Kildare; they began on the missing leaf before f. 16 and end on f. 20v. With the addition of the two missing leaves after f. 16, this makes a gathering of probably eight leaves. The last charter named in this list is Gilbert's no. CXV, a charter of William the Irishman (Willelmus le Hyrais). This is the

last charter in the series which is written in the main hand of the register. The next two charters (concerning land in Cloncurry) are written in a different hand, and they are followed by a very curious memorandum concerning the descendants of Adam of Hereford.

A new gathering begins on f. 21, and is filled with twenty charters concerning land in Leighlin (ff. 21-24). There is no list of these charters in the register. The last two charters in this series (Gilbert's CXXXVII, CXXXVIII) are written in a later hand. The lower half of f. 24r is blank; and f. 24v contains a list of twenty-five charters concerning land in Ossory.

These twenty-five charters are to be found in the next four leaves (ff. 25-28). The main hand stops here at Gilbert's CLXIII. The next three documents have been entered in two other hands, and stop on f. 28v. There follows, in a later hand, the text of an agreement of 22 September, 1300, which Gilbert prints on page 421; and this is followed on f. 29 by a memorandum of 1 June, 1476, which Gilbert prints on page 423.

On f. 29v there is again a list of forty-three charters concerning lands in County Dublin, which are to be found in the next gathering (ff. 30-35). These charters end on f. 35 with Gilbert's CCVIII. They are all entered in the main hand of the register, and are followed (ff. 35-36r) by four documents written in various hands. At the bottom of f. 36r is a memorandum in English, dated 6 August 1524, which Gilbert prints on page 424. F. 36v is blank, and the gathering ends here; but f. 37 contains three more Dublin deeds, not listed on f. 29v. A new gathering begins on f. 38, with the charters relating to lands in the diocese of Ferns.

At this point the system of regular gatherings, with lists of the charters in the next gathering, breaks down; and it would be tedious to continue a detailed examination of the very imperfect gatherings which make up the remainder of the volume (ff. 38-87). I note here the principal gatherings, so far as I have been able to distinguish them: ff. 38-39 (Ferns); 40-41 (Killaloe); 42-45 (Cork); 46-49 (miscellaneous); 50-57 (Meath); 58-61 (Dublin); two leaves apparently missing after f. 61, which with the next two made a gathering of four (Kildare); f. 64 and another missing leaf (Leighlin); 65 (Ossory); 66 (Cashel); 67-72 (miscellaneous); 73-75 with a missing leaf after f. 75 (miscellaneous); 76-87 (miscellaneous, in various hands, and with several copies in duplicate of charters already entered in the register).

It will be plain from this summary description that the register which Gilbert printed from Rawlinson B. 500 is very much more imperfect than his readers can have suspected; and the division of the volume into smaller or larger gatherings helps to explain the intrusion of a few charters of a date later than 1272, which I believe to be the true date of compilation. On f. 10v a charter which is dated October 1295 (Gilbert's LXIV) has been entered on the lower portion of what was a partly blank page, in a later

hand. On ff. 14v-15r two charters of the years 1287-8 (Gilbert's LXXIX, LXXX) have been entered after a series (ff. 12-14) all of which have been copied by a hand later than the main hand of the register. I have already mentioned the deeds of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which Gilbert has printed at the end of his edition. There are two interesting deeds on f. 75r, which have been crossed through in the manuscript. The second of these two deeds (Gilbert's CCCXCVI) is dated early in November 1272, and is thus contemporary with what I take to be the date of compilation. The list of lands in Dublin which has been entered on f. 1* is slightly earlier, being dated in the ninth year of Abbot Warin's consecration (1266-7).

A date c. 1272 fits very well with what is known of the abbey's external history. St. Thomas was a royal abbey, and it was necessary for the community to secure the king's licence for the election of a new abbot; the abbot-elect was also required to do fealty before seeking restitution of temporalities. Warin of Lichfield had been abbot from 1258 to 1270; but he had died before 17 May in that year, when the prior and canons had license to elect his successor.⁴ The new abbot's name is given on a later entry as William the Welshman (le Walleis).⁵ On 4 July he was granted restitution of temporalities after payment of a fine of £20 for the privilege of obtaining the royal assent and the grant of restitution from the king's escheator in Ireland.⁶ Abbot William ruled St. Thomas until his resignation in September 1289; and he seems to have been an exceptionally active administrator of the abbey's temporal possessions. Regular entries occur during these years recording the yearly payment of the royal alms to the abbey, sometimes in half-yearly instalments, sometimes in a larger sum owing to arrears which the abbot had succeeded in obtaining from the treasurer.⁷ It seems probable that it was Abbot William who challenged the legal right of the mayor and community of the city of Dublin, who had been hearing cases concerning the abbey's tenants which the abbot claimed to be matter for his own court; and who appealed to the king for a writ of limits between the barony of their abbey and the common of the city of Dublin.⁸ These are the actions we might expect of a prelate who took a keen interest in the protection of his abbey's rights; and the compilation of a register, into which all deeds and charters prior to the year 1272 were copied in full fits well with the evidence we have just cited.

One other observation may be made concerning the date of this first register. The oldest volume now in the Dublin diocesan registry is the register known as 'Crede Mihi', which can be accurately dated to the year

⁴ *Cal. Docs. Ireland* II, nos. 588-90; 317, 330, 357, 385, 401, 479; III, pp. 78, 870, 244 (no. 547).

⁵ *op. cit.* III, no. 777 (22 Sept. 1289).

⁶ *op. cit.* II, no. 876 (4 July 1270).

⁷ *op. cit.* II, pp. 182, 287, 290, 303,

⁸ *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, 1870), p. 212.

1275.⁹ The see of Dublin was vacant in that year; and the vacancy lasted for almost eight years (1271-79). Thomas Chaddesworth, who had been the official of Archbishop Fulke de Saunford from 1267-71, was custodian of the temporalities of Dublin throughout this long vacancy; and there can be little doubt that this earliest Dublin register was compiled at his order in 1275.¹⁰ Chaddesworth was an exceptionally able and active administrator, and it may well be his influence or example which caused Abbot William to have his abbey's muniments carefully copied into a single volume. But it is, perhaps, more probable that Chaddesworth was following the example of the new abbot of St. Thomas, whose register seems to have been compiled two or three years before 1275.

A third register, now extant as Rawlinson B. 495, was compiled in Dublin about the same time. This is the earlier of the two registers of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, which Gilbert edited in 1884.¹¹ Here again Gilbert did his work as editor very carelessly. In his preface he states correctly that this manuscript was numbered IX in Sir James Ware's catalogue of the manuscripts in his possession in 1648, and that Ware described it (again correctly) as having been written for the most part in the reign of Edward I.¹² In the Quarto Catalogue of the Bodleian Library Macray catalogued this manuscript as a vellum quarto of the early fourteenth century; and Gilbert states that "the writing is of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries".¹³ I have examined the manuscript myself, and feel sure that Ware's date is the correct one. Moreover, Gilbert has made no effort to analyse the gatherings of which this volume is composed. It consists to-day of 114 leaves. The first leaf contains a list of technical legal terms, and is written in a hand distinct from the rest of the volume. The second leaf contains the text of a plea held before the chief justice, R. Dufford, in 1278 (6 Edw. I). Ff. 3-5 contain an old, but incomplete index of the charters copied into the volume; but the charters here indexed correspond only with charters copied on ff. 16-65v; and a single leaf is missing from the middle of this Index. Various miscellaneous documents, ranging in date from 1320 to 1463, have been copied on ff. 5-15, and have been printed by Gilbert (I, pp. 4-28). These are all plainly later additions to the original register, which begins, as bound at present, on f. 16. From this point it is possible to reconstruct the various gatherings, most of which

⁹ Gilbert edited *Crede Mihi* (Dublin, 1897) at his own expense; but very carelessly. He dates (p. viii) the list of Dublin deaneries and churches (ff. 109-113) to the time of Archbishop Henry (1212-28). The true date is 1275. John de Saunford is named as rector of the churches of Killacheger and Clonmine (p. 142), and holding the prebend of Lairbrun (p. 148). He became dean of St. Patrick's in November 1275 (*Cal. Docs. Ire.* II, no. 1173). William of Northfield, archdeacon of Dublin, had

died before 6 January 1274/5; *Cal. Docs. Ire.* II, no. 1081. His death is mentioned in the list of *Crede Mihi*, p. 136.

¹⁰ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* II, no. 1137; 1577.

¹¹ *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin* (Rolls Series, 1884). 2 vols.

¹² *Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Jacobi Waraei, Equitis Aur., Catalogus* (Dublin, 1648).

¹³ W. D. Macray in *Quarto Catalogue* V, fasc. 1 (1872), p. 714; Gilbert, *op. cit.* I, p. xii.

have been numbered at the foot of the page, though they are now bound in the wrong order. The royal charters are copied in gathering A (ff. 32-39), and were followed by a gathering marked B (ff. 40-47). The remaining gatherings of this series are now ff. 16-23, 24-31, 66-73, 74-81.¹⁴ There are no papal grants, for St. Mary's was a Cistercian abbey, and shared in the general papal privileges of the order. But there is a series of episcopal grants, which fill two gatherings marked C and D (ff. 50-57, 58-65). Ff. 82-113 are now filled with a series of later grants, copied in various hands, mostly of the fourteenth century. The original register was thus no more than a portion (ff. 16-81) of the present volume; and the latest date of any deed copied into this portion is a memorandum on f. 81, dated 7 Edward I (1279). It is followed by a copy of a grant made by Richard de la Rochelle on 15 June 1270. If we take the memorandum on f. 81, and the two copies of pleas of 1278 on ff. 2 and 48 as later additions, the general date of the original register is fixed at about the same time as *Crede Mihi* and the first register of St. Thomas, Dublin. We may suspect the influence of Edward I's very competent officials in Dublin as the immediate cause of this very interesting series of ecclesiastical registers.

Abbot William's register has so far been the main source for our knowledge of the history of Thomascourt, and the absence of all royal charters and papal bulls from this register has deprived scholars of information which ought long since to have been made available in print. As far back as 1870 Gilbert called attention to a later register, which is now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy as MS. 12.D.2. When Gilbert described this volume in 1870, in the preface to his *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, he seems to have been under the impression that the manuscript which had been in the Academy library since the acquisition of the Haliday collection in 1867 was a complete register.¹⁵ It is, in fact, no more than half a register which William Copinger of Cork copied for the abbot in 1526, the other half being in Sir James Ware's collection at Oxford as Rawlinson B. 499. Gilbert had learned of the existence of this other half before 1889, when he published his *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin*, in the Rolls Series; but his mention of Ware's manuscript is curiously reticent. "It should be mentioned," he writes at the end of his preface, "that several royal, papal, curial and miscellaneous documents in connexion with the Dublin abbey of St. Thomas, from the twelfth to the commencement of the sixteenth century, were not included in the manuscript here printed. They have, however, been preserved in another Register of the abbey. The publication of it, as the complement of the present

¹⁴ Two leaves (ff. 48, 49) have been inserted after gathering B. On f. 48 two pleas have been copied, dated 1278 and 1292; on f. 49 are five documents, two of them belonging to the fourteenth century. Gathering C begins on f. 50. Some deeds of the early fourteenth

century have also been copied by a later hand on ff. 64, 65, which had been left blank at the end of gathering D.

¹⁵ *Historic and Municipal Documents*, p. xxi.

volume, would render generally accessible new and valuable historic material now surviving only in a single manuscript".¹⁶

This statement is indeed so reticent as to be misleading. Technically, the two parts of Copinger's register may be described as a single manuscript; but Gilbert's readers can hardly be blamed for their feeling of bewilderment or irritation. In the copy of Gilbert's edition which I have been using, Father Edmund Hogan, who had a weakness for marginal comments, has pencilled a note opposite this cryptic statement: "Where, you humbug?" And at the end of the paragraph he has added a second note: "Quite like Gilbert to conceal *where*." I am afraid there can be little doubt that Gilbert was, in fact, deliberately concealing the whereabouts of this second and more valuable portion of Copinger's register, in the hope that he might some day be permitted to edit it himself. Recently, the Irish Manuscripts Commission has acquired a full transcript of the Dublin half, made by the professional transcriber who did similar work for Gilbert on other texts which he edited for the Rolls Series.¹⁷ Gilbert may, perhaps, have also acquired a full transcript of the Oxford half of Copinger's register; if so, it has disappeared. The two divided halves still await their editor. In preparing this paper I have been able to use the transcript of the Dublin half which was made for Gilbert's use sixty or seventy years ago, as well as the original in the Academy library, and a set of excellent photostats of the Oxford half which have been put at my disposal by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

A brief description of those portions of Rawlinson B. 499 which add new material to the document contained in the earlier Rawlinson B. 500 may be helpful at this stage. In both halves of the manuscript there is an elaborate title, written by Copinger, which gives the date and scope of his work: "Copia vera quarundam evidenciarum monasterii sancti Thome martiris iuxta Dublin extracta per me Willelmum Copinger de Cork sue nationis capitaneum anno domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo sexto". Despite the high-sounding title which William Copinger here gives himself, I have not been able to discover any further details about this "captain of his nation". That he did his work thoroughly, and that he completed his task, is for our purpose praise sufficient. The Oxford half of his manuscript contains 154 leaves, of which the last six were left blank; but Sir James Ware has made some rough notes for a tentative list of the abbots of St. Thomas on two of these leaves (ff. 151-2).¹⁸ The Dublin half at one time contained 150 leaves in its original form; but several leaves are now missing, and the volume in its present form consists of 141 leaves. This Dublin half was never, so far as we can judge, in the library of Sir James Ware. An entry on the inside of the back-cover, which is dated

¹⁶ *Register*, p. xviii.

from whom the Commission acquired them.

¹⁷ These transcripts were sold some years ago to Mr. Colm O Lochlainn,

¹⁸ These rough notes are printed below, p. 34-5.

20 June 1639 and signed "John Paycocke", tells us that this section contained "one hundred and fifty and two leaves, written and unwritten." Nothing is known of its history for the next century and a half; but it was then in the library of Dr. John Carpenter, the well-known Catholic archbishop of Dublin who took a keen interest in the old records of his diocese. On f. 43v he has made a note in his own hand: "Liber D. Joannis Carpenter, Archiepiscopi Dublin, Hiberniae Primatis et Metropolitani; Consecr. in festo Pentecostes, die 3° Jun. 1770". Dr. Carpenter died in 1789, and this volume passed through various libraries—William Burton Conyngham, Austin Cooper and Charles Haliday are known as owners—until it finally came to the Royal Irish Academy with the rest of the Haliday collection in 1867.

Rawlinson B. 499 has had a different history. It was volume XII in the library of Sir James Ware, and from his library passed, with so many other valuable books, first to the library of the Earl of Clarendon, thence to the Duke of Chandos, thence to Rawlinson's great collection, and finally to its present resting place in the Bodleian library. It is worth noting that Sir James Ware also owned the earlier of the two fourteenth century cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin (now Rawlinson B. 495); and that he at one time had access to the lost "Great Register" of St. Mary's Abbey, which was compiled here in Dublin in two volumes some ten or fifteen years earlier than Copinger's transcript, also in two volumes, of the Thomascourt charters.¹⁹

The first 31 leaves of Rawlinson B. 499 are filled with a full transcript of twenty royal charters; and f. 31v has been left blank by Copinger, thus marking the end of an important section of his manuscript. We should expect the transcript of papal bulls to come immediately after these royal charters, if it did not precede them. But the sixteen leaves (ff. 129-44) which contain the text of eighteen papal bulls are now bound at the end of the manuscript, where they form two separate gatherings. Copinger seems to have allowed this portion of his work to fall into some confusion, for—having left ff. 144v and 145 blank at the end of the last bull in this series—he has then added a second full transcript of the first two bulls on ff. 146, 147 and 148. Some other scribe has then added the text of two short prayers in Tudor English at the end of the last of these bulls, on f. 148v.

A list of these royal charters and papal bulls will reveal the main source of what I have to say in this paper. The texts are not given in chronological order in Copinger's transcript, but I have thought it more convenient to print the two lists in strict chronological order, with the correct reference to the place of each text in the manuscript.

¹⁹ Gilbert has printed extracts made by Sir James Ware from this lost 'Great Register of St. Mary's Abbey' in his *Chartularies* II, pp. xii-xiv; 3-30.

ROYAL CHARTERS.

	folio
1. Writ of Henry I, empowering William fitzAudelin.	1.
2. Foundation charter of William fitzAudelin (1177).	1.
3. Confirmation by Henry II at Oxford.	1v.
4. General confirmation by John at Devonport (c. 1186-7).	3.
5. John grants tithe of beer (before 1189).	2.
6. John makes second grant of same, at Windsor.	2.
7. Confirmation by John count of Mortain at Dorchester.	2v.
8. John, count of Mortain, grants tithe at Marlborough.	1v.
9. John grants a boat on river and a church (18 Oct. 1197).	3.
10. John grants a free burgage in Dublin (19 Oct. 1197).	3v.
11. Henry III grants general protection (25 May 1227).	3v.
12. Inspeximus of 7 charters by Edward I (14 Jan. 1291).	17v-19.
13. Inspeximus of 43 charters by Edward II (24 June 1316).	3v-15.
14. Charter of Edward III at Woodstock (8 May 1330).	22v.
15. Inspeximus by Edward III of Inspeximus of Edward I above (26 Nov. 1330).	15-17.
16. Confirmation of charters by Edward III (1 April 1331).	22.
17. Exemplification of a Record (1331) by Richard II (18 April 1378).	27v-30
18. Inspeximus by Richard II of Inspeximus Edw. III (10 May 1379).	19v-22.
19. Exemplification of a Plea by Abbot Thomas (24 Sept. 1388).	22v-27v.
20. Exemplification of Acts of Wexford parliament by Edward IV (15 December 1463).	30-31.

PAPAL BULLS.

	folio
1. Bull of general protection by Gregory VIII (9 Dec. 1187).	129.
2. General protection by Innocent III (21 March 1216).	132v.
3. Confirmation of Cloncurry by Honorius III (12 Oct. 1218).	143v.
4. Confirmation of Leixlip by Gregory IX (27 July 1227).	142-143.

5. General protection by Innocent IV (5 Feb. 1247).	137v-139v.
6. Special commission by Alexander IV (1 Oct. 1255).	132.
7. Bull against defrauders by same (27 May 1258).	137v.
8. Confirmation of parochial rights by same (24 June 1260).	131v.
9. General protection by same (24 July 1260).	130.
10. Provision of John Seriaunt by Boniface IX (10 July 1391).	134v.
11. Confirmation of John Seriaunt by same (1 July 1394).	135v.
12. Bull against defrauders by same (27 May 1394).	133.
13. Bull against farmers of rents by same (same date).	143v.
14. John Seriaunt commended to Richard II by same (28 May 1399).	136v.
15. Bull of general protection by same (4 April 1400).	133v.
16. Indult for Abbot Nicholas by same (15 July 1401).	137.
17. Special commission by John XXIII (18 Jan. 1413).	139v.
18. Against alienators in Fermoy etc. by Sixtus IV (29 March 1475).	140-141.

It will be seen that the first eleven royal charters, and the first nine papal bulls are earlier in date than Abbot William's register. Moreover, there is a charter of King John, dated 21 April 1202, in which he confirms the grants of his father and his own earlier grants as lord of Ireland, which is not copied by William Copinger as a separate charter, but which is included in the general *Inspeximus* of Edward I dated 14 January 1291 (ff. 18). We should, therefore, expect to find the text of twelve royal charters and nine papal bulls in Abbot William's register; and their absence suggests that the register, as we have it to-day, has lost at least one gathering at the beginning of the volume.

The remainder of the two volumes of Copinger's register is filled with transcripts of a large number of charters, some of which, by apparent oversight, have been copied in duplicate. These charters have been grouped by Copinger, as in Abbot William's earlier register, according to a territorial and diocesan plan; but the order followed by Copinger differs from that of his predecessor. Immediately after his transcripts of the royal charters there is a very long section relating to the diocese of Kildare: this is, as compared with Abbot William's collection, largely new, including many texts that are later than 1272 (ff. 32-95). Kildare is followed by Leighlin (ff. 96-103), Ossory (ff. 104-114), Killaloe, Cashel, Cork and Cloyne (ff. 115-126). Charters relating to the archdiocese of Dublin (ff. 1-64) and the diocese of Meath (ff. 65-130; 141-3), fill most of the second volume. A few charters concerning the barony of Forth in Carlow seem to have gone astray, and now fill ff. 131-6 of volume II; they should have been placed with the

other charters in volume I relating to the diocese of Leighlin. A few charters concerning Kilruddery in Dublin have also gone astray, and are now on ff. 147-150.

The Dublin portion of this register has, in fact, suffered a good deal of damage in the course of the past three hundred years. A note on the inside of the back cover, signed by John Paycocke and dated 20 June 1639, states that this book contains "one hundred fifty and two leaves, written and unwritten." This statement is corrected in a later note, also of the seventeenth century, which states that "this book doth contain sevenscore and fowerteene leaves, written and unwritten." By the time that the book came to the library of the Royal Irish Academy, with the rest of the Haliday collection in 1867, it had lost eleven of these leaves. In a note which he has made inside the binding at the beginning of the volume, Gilbert—who was then the Academy's librarian—states that ff. 20, 67, 118, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146 are missing. Another leaf, not noticed by Gilbert in this count, is missing after f. 64; and Gilbert has added to the confusion by missing a leaf (f. 40) in his own numbering of ff. 1-142. There are, thus, 143 leaves in the volume as at present numbered; and eleven leaves have been lost. One characteristic feature of Copinger's register has thus been obscured. In the Oxford half of the register, which is still intact, there is a separate index for each diocese. The index for Dublin is given on f. 1 of the Dublin half; but the index to Meath is missing after f. 64. Two double leaves have been lost from the section which contains grants concerning the barony of Forth in Carlow (ff. 137-140); and five other leaves are missing from the long section concerning Meath.

No original charter seems to have survived from the abbey's once rich muniments. In the eighteenth century the Earl of Meath, to whom most of the abbey's property had passed, owned a roll from which Leland printed the text of the foundation charter in his *History of Ireland*.²⁰ But this roll has long since disappeared. We have never been good at preserving our ancient muniments in this country, and we are, in fact, lucky to have two almost complete registers from which to reconstruct the history of a foundation which has many points of interest for students of Hiberno-Norman institutions. I shall not attempt here to review the mass of detail contained

²⁰ Thomas Leland. *The History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1773), I, p. 127. Leland cites this text 'E rotulo antiquo penes Comitum Midiae'. Harris had also seen this roll, for he copied from it the text of this charter which is in his *Collectanea* I, ff. 9-28 (now in the National Library of Ireland). Hardiman saw this roll as late as 1843; but it has since disappeared, so far as my information goes. Hardiman states that the roll was not earlier than the time of Henry VIII, and this may well be true. For William Brabazon, ancestor of the Earls of Meath, was granted the site of the

Abbey of St. Thomas, with some twenty acres of land in the immediate neighbourhood, on 31 March 30 Henry VIII (1539): see Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 197 (from the records of the Chief Remembrancer); M. V. Ronan, *The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1558*, p. 199. The missing roll may perhaps have been made then from an older text. But Brabazon may also have acquired the original roll, of which no trace can be found to-day. See J. Hardiman in *Tracts relating to Ireland* (Irish Archaeol. Society), vol. II (1843), no. iii, p. 28 note.

in these two registers concerning the abbey's former very extensive possessions; but an account of the foundation in 1177, its peculiar character and later transformation under Archbishop Cumin, may be of general interest. It will be seen that the history of St. Thomas, Dublin, was very closely linked with the history of the Anglo-Norman Victorine abbey of St. Augustine at Bristol.

2. THE FOUNDATION (MARCH 1177).

The date of the foundation can be determined without any difficulty. Strongbow had died in May 1176, and Henry II sent his seneschal William fitzAudelin to act as his 'procurator' in Ireland as soon as news had reached him of the Earl's untimely death.²¹ About the same time Alexander III sent Cardinal Vivian as his legate on a special mission to Ireland and Scotland. The legate went first to Scotland, where he stayed until December 1176: he then crossed over from Scotland to Ulster, and found himself immediately involved in the warfare that followed John de Courci's daring raid on Downpatrick.²² Early in 1177 Cardinal Vivian came to Dublin in the train of John de Courci; and he held a synod at Dublin in the first week of Lent (middle of March 1177).²³ The legate was still in Dublin, with Laurence O'Toole as archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Meath, Kildare and Waterford, when William fitzAudelin, acting in the king's name, issued his charter "in presence of Cardinal Vivian, Laurence archbishop of Dublin and several bishops of Ireland," by which he "gave and offered to God and the church of blessed Thomas, martyr of Christ, a carucate of land which is called Dunouere, with its mills and meadow and all appurtenances of the same land, in wood and in plain, for the soul of Geoffrey count of Anjou, father of King Henry, and of his mother the Empress and of his ancestors, and for King Henry himself and his sons, in perpetual and pure almoign."²⁴ 'Dunouere', now Donore, lay south of the city's walls.

That King Henry's representative in Ireland should thus found a church in honour of "blessed Thomas, martyr of Christ" is a fact that needs to be set against the history of the past seven years. Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury had been done to death in his own cathedral church by four of the king's knights in the last days of 1170; and Henry was still under the shadow of that great sacrilege when he first set foot in Ireland in the autumn of that year. The king's visit to this country was in fact interrupted by his urgent need to meet the papal messengers who were on their way from Rome to Normandy, where Henry II finally met them at Savigny in the spring of 1172.²⁵ On 21 February 1173, Alexander III canonised

²¹ *Gesta Henrici II*, vol. I, p. 125; Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, II, p. 6.

²² *Gesta Henrici II*, vol. I, p. 137-8; William of Newburgh, in *Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (Rolls Series) I, p. 238.

²³ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio*

Hibernica II, c. 19 (*Opera*, ed. Dimock V, p. 345-6). The date is given as the first Sunday in Lent in *Annals of Four Masters*, a. 1177.

²⁴ Rawlinson B. 499, f. 1; Leland, loc. cit.

²⁵ *Gesta Henrici II*, vol. I, p. 30; Hoveden, *Chronicle*, ed. Stubbs II, p. 33.

Thomas as a martyr of Christ; but the famous Canterbury pilgrimage had begun almost immediately after the archbishop's death. The king made a vow, as part of the penance he was ordered to perform, that he would build and dedicate churches in honour of the saint to whom he had given so little honour a few short years before.²⁶ Waltham Abbey, which had been founded by Harold in Essex as a collegiate church of secular canons, was converted into an Augustinian monastery and newly endowed by Henry II in 1177, in part-fulfilment of that vow.²⁷ But the foundation of a new monastery here in Dublin, dedicated from the first to blessed Thomas martyr and endowed with lands from the king's estate, is a more dramatic witness to the king's wish to wipe out the memory of past sins. I have consulted Mr. Neville Hadcock, who has an exceptionally wide and accurate knowledge of English monastic foundations, as to whether any earlier dedications of this type are known in England. He tells me that two small hospitals, which Archbishop Thomas had built and endowed in his own lifetime, were given a new dedication to the martyr, most probably soon after the canonisation of 1173.²⁸ The spread of the new cult was rapid, not only in England, but throughout many lands in Europe. There is a representation of the martyred archbishop in enamel on a gospel cover in the cathedral of Capua, which may perhaps be earlier than 1177; and a mosaic in the cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, depicting the martyred saint, is not more than ten years later.²⁹ These very early witnesses to the cult of St. Thomas abroad are due to the fact that a daughter of Henry II, Joan, was married to King William the Good of Sicily in 1177; and there are other early paintings at Brunswick and in Spain, where two other daughters of Henry were married into the ruling family.³⁰ The new church of St. Thomas martyr here in Dublin is thus a witness to a wave of enthusiasm that was not confined to the province of Canterbury.

It is commonly believed that Henry II founded St. Thomas as an Augustinian abbey according to the rule of the great abbey of St. Victor in Paris;³¹ but there is no word of this rule in any of the earliest documents concerning the foundation. In his foundation charter William fitzAudelin is content to ordain that "whoever shall be guardian (*custos*) of the afore-said tenement in honour of God and blessed Thomas the martyr and by the will of the lord king of England shall hold the whole tenement as freely and quietly and honourably and purely and wholly as any church in England holds any free tenement." Henry II issued a charter with his royal confirmation of the new foundation at Oxford, most probably at the council

²⁶ *Gesta Henrici II*, vol. I, pp. 134-5.

²⁷ J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons* (1950), pp. 145, 242.

²⁸ These two hospitals were at Canterbury and Southwark: see David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (1953), pp. 262, 307.

²⁹ Tancred Borenius, *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (1932), p. 13; A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta* (1951), p. 215.

³⁰ Poole, loc. cit.

³¹ Gilbert takes this view: *Register*, p. xi.

which was held there in May 1177.³² This charter adds nothing to the vague terms in which William fitzAudelin had outlined the possible nature of the future community; but it is clear from a succession of charters that can be dated between 1177 and 1192 that the church was entrusted to a community of regular canons, who had elected their own prior at an early date. The first prior whose name is known to us is Simon, to whom Gregory VIII addressed his bull of general protection on 9 December 1187.³³ It is probable that Simon had been prior of the new community since the first year of its existence. This form of loose organisation of canons regular under a prior or provost, without any mention of a definite rule, is typical of many early English Augustinian foundations in the twelfth century.³⁴ For the most part only the more important houses of canons regular had the status of an abbey, but houses that belonged to such highly organised congregations as the Arrouasian or Victorine canons were commonly granted abbatial status.

During the first years of the new Dublin community it is plain that most of the prominent Anglo-Norman adventurers in this country made more or less extensive grants to "the canons who served God in the monastery of blessed Thomas the martyr near Dublin." The witnesses to fitzAudelin's foundation charter in 1177 were Robert fitzStephen, Milo de Cogan, Geoffrey de Contentin, Walter de Rydelford, Robert de Birmingham, Raymund fitzWilliam (le Gros), Meyler fitzHenry, Philip le Poher, Robert of St. Michael, John de Clahull, Gilbert la Warre, Thomas la Martre and a few other less distinguished names. Almost all these names are to be found among the grantors of land to the new monastery, and it may be assumed that most of these grants were made soon after the formal foundation in Dublin. Robert fitzStephen and Milo de Cogan made grants in Cork which must be earlier than Milo's death in 1182.³⁵ Raymund le Gros, with his wife Basilia, made a grant to the canons in Dublin of land in Carlow which, as we learn from a later confirmation by Basilia after Raymund's death, was made in the first year of the new monastery's existence.³⁶ John de Courci made a grant of a church near Downpatrick, which he had seized in 1176, and which was confirmed by the Irish bishop of Down c. 1177.³⁷ Hugh de Lacy, who was appointed successor to William fitzAudelin as the king's procurator general in Ireland at the council of Oxford (May 1177) does not seem to have made a grant to the canons of St. Thomas from his lordship of Meath, though most of the barons who held of Hugh as their overlord made grants of various churches; and there are important grants by Hugh's brother, Walter de Lacy, and by the younger Hugh in memory of his father.³⁸ Within a very few years it seems plain that the new canons of Dublin had acquired land in most of the territory held by the Normans in Leinster, Meath, Munster and Ulster.

³² Rawlinson B. 499, f. 1; Leland, loc. cit.

³³ Rawlinson B. 499, f. 129.

³⁴ Dickinson, op. cit., pp. 79-81.

³⁵ *Register*, pp. 201-4.

³⁶ *Register*, pp. 114, 118.

³⁷ *Register*, pp. 221-2.

³⁸ *Register*, pp. 7-13.

The bull of general protection which Gregory VIII issued in favour of Prior Simon and his brethren includes a useful statement of the convent's possessions in December 1187, just ten years after the original foundation.³⁹ The bull enumerates in the first place the site on which the church was built in Dublin; the grange of Dunshaughlin; their lands in Cork; the church of Dunshaughlin with the chapel of Ratoath; the church of Greenock; the church of Donaghmore; and the church on the land of William de Surlage (Sherlockstown in Meath). With the exception of the church of St. Thomas in Dublin and the lands in Cork, these possessions lie in Meath; and it is worth noting that the canons of St. Thomas never held extensive properties in County Dublin. The reason for this is simple enough. By 1177 most of the available land in Dublin had been distributed among earlier owners, secular and ecclesiastical. Apart from the archbishop of Dublin and the canons of Christ Church, the Cistercian monks of St. Mary's held considerable possessions, some of which dated back before the Norman conquest. To the end of the Middle Ages most of the possessions of Thomascourt were in Meath, Kildare, Carlow and Wexford.

3. ARCHBISHOP CUMIN AND THE RULE OF ST. VICTOR.

The first hint that we get of a change in the status of the canons of St. Thomas occurs in a charter of Archbishop John Cumin, who had been elected (or more truthfully nominated by the king) as successor to St. Laurence in 1182. For the next seven years, whilst the old king Henry II was still alive, John Cumin's interests seem to have been mainly in England, where he is constantly found in attendance at the king's court.⁴⁰ But Henry's death in the summer of 1189 brought many changes, and it is probably no accident that we find many signs of a new activity in Dublin on the part of Dublin's first English archbishop, from 1190 onwards. Since 1177 John had been lord of Ireland, and his effective control of the lordship dates from his first visit to Ireland in 1185. Archbishop Cumin was one of those who had been present in Dublin during John's visit, and he held an important synod in his cathedral church (at which Giraldus Cambrensis preached a famous sermon) in the Lent of 1186.⁴¹ John gave the canons of St. Thomas a first mark of his favour during this visit by granting them a church in Wicklow; and he issued a charter of general protection soon after his return to England.⁴² This was followed in 1189 by two grants concerning a tithe of the beer made by the citizens of Dublin, which was to remain a valuable property of the canons of Thomascourt down to the

³⁹ Rawlinson B. 499, f. 129.

⁴⁰ *Gesta Henrici II*, vol. I, p. 317; II, pp. 3, 85, 87. He was present at the coronation of Richard I at Westminster Abbey on 3 Sept. 1189: Hoveden, *Chronicle* III, p. 8.

⁴¹ *Gesta Henrici II*, vol. I, p. 339; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Rebus a se gestis* in *Opera* (Rolls Series) I, pp. 65-72; *Speculum ecclesiae*, *ibid.* IV, pp. 179-80.

⁴² *Register*, p. 184; Rawlinson B. 499, f. 3.

reign of Henry VIII.⁴³ The good will which is apparent in these early charters was to be continued without interruption throughout John's stormy career.

Archbishop Cumin was thus conscious that the canons of St. Thomas enjoyed the special favour of the lord of Ireland, and that fact may have induced him to take a particular interest in the abbey's welfare. Since the death of St. Laurence at Eu in the winter of 1181 Ireland had been without a resident papal legate; but the new Pope, Celestine III, appointed the Cistercian archbishop of Cashel, Matthew Ua h-Enni, as his legate in 1191.⁴⁴ The legate came to Dublin soon after his appointment, and held an important synod in the city at which Archbishop Cumin was present. During the sessions of this synod, or soon after them, two new Norman bishops were appointed to Irish sees: William Piro to the vacant see of Glendalough, and Simon Rochfort to the vacant see of Meath.⁴⁵ Simon, prior of St. Thomas, made a grant to Adam, grandson of Yvo, which included all the land of Holywood which the canons of St. Thomas held of Pagan de Praeres. This grant was witnessed by Simon Rochford as bishop of Meath, and cannot thus be earlier than 1192.⁴⁶ From this charter we learn that the monastery of St. Thomas was still a priory in that year.

But a change in the monastery's status appears soon after this date. At some date c. 1189-92, Henry Tyrrell had granted the canons of St. Thomas a site on the lands which he held from John, count of Mortain, his lord, "to build a church and cemetery in honour of St. James the apostle".⁴⁷ This grant is witnessed by John de Courci as justiciar, and thus must be not earlier than 1189 (since John is count of Mortain) and not later than 1192, when John de Courci ceased to be justiciar. Somewhat later Archbishop Cumin grants the parish church of St. James to the canons of St. Thomas "for the increase of religion in the church of the blessed martyr Thomas outside Dublin, which has been instituted in the *ordo* of St. Victor."⁴⁸ This is the first clear allusion that we get in any of the extant deeds to the Victorine rule, which was followed in the royal abbey of St. Victor at Paris, and in numerous other French houses. In England the Victorine rule seems to have been confined almost entirely to a group of houses in Somerset, of which the abbey of St. Augustine at Bristol and the abbey of Keynsham in Somerset were the most prominent.⁴⁹ John Cumin had been archdeacon of Bath for many years before his elevation to the see of Dublin; and it seems reasonable to conclude that the introduction of the *ordo* or rule of

⁴³ Rawlinson B. 499, f. 2.

⁴⁴ *Annals of Inisfallen*, ed. Sean MacAirt (1951), a. 1192: 'Legatecht Heren do tabart d'U Enni'. The archbishop as legate of Ireland witnessed a charter of the archbishop of Armagh which can be dated to 1192: *Chart. St. Mary's I*, p. 143.

⁴⁵ The date of these two promotions can be determined from the charter

printed in *Chart. St. Mary's I*, p. 143, compared with other charters of this period.

⁴⁶ *Register*, p. 62.

⁴⁷ *Register*, p. 383.

⁴⁸ *Register*, p. 284.

⁴⁹ J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 133; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, pp. 130, 142.

St. Victor into this Dublin monastery was due to the archbishop's influence.⁵⁰ This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Innocent III, who issued a bull of general protection for the canons of St. Thomas on 21 March 1216, states in this bull that the *ordo canonicus* according to God and the rule of St. Augustine had been introduced into this house by John of good memory, former archbishop of Dublin.⁵¹ This is not, however, the first mention of the Augustinian rule in the history of this monastery: for Gregory VIII had used these same words in his bull of 9 December 1187, ordaining that "the *ordo canonicus* which had been instituted in this church according to God and the rule of St. Augustine should be observed inviolate for all time."⁵² The introduction of the Augustinian rule, or some clearer statement of its observance, may thus have been the work of Archbishop Cumin at his synod of 1186; but there is no mention of the *ordo* of St. Victor before Cumin's charter of c. 1192.

One of the witnesses to Cumin's charter is Gilbert, a canon of St. Augustine—presumably of the Victorine abbey of St. Augustine at Bristol. This same Gilbert also witnesses a charter of John, bishop of Leighlin, which cannot be earlier than 1192;⁵³ and it is noteworthy that William, abbot of Keynsham, and John, abbot of St. Augustine, appear as witnesses to a charter of Robert Poer, which is earlier than 1192, since William Piro here appears simply as Master William Piro.⁵⁴ The presence of these two abbots in Dublin, each the head of an English Victorine house, can hardly have been without purpose. I think it highly probable that John Cumin, who must have known these Somerset monasteries when he was archdeacon of Bath, had decided to introduce the stricter rule or *ordo* of St. Victor in the Dublin monastery; and that this change took place soon after the Dublin synod of 1192.

Archbishop Matthew of Cashel, the Irish papal legate, confirmed John Cumin's grant of the church of St. James by a charter which is witnessed by Felix, bishop of Ossory; Maurice, bishop of Ross; C. prior of Christ Church; and D. prior of All Hallows.⁵⁵ These names do not, unfortunately, give us any very useful clue for the date of this charter, though it is certain that Columbanus was prior of Christ Church in January 1192.⁵⁶ A bishop of Ross had died a year or two before the accession of Innocent III in 1198; and we may presume that this Maurice was bishop c. 1192-6.⁵⁷ Nearer than that we cannot go; but the legate's confirmation was most probably issued soon after 1192, and here again there is an express mention of the

⁵⁰ Dean Armitage Robinson pointed out the significance of Archbishop Cumin's Somerset connections for his work in Dublin in *Somerset Historical Essays* (1921), pp. 98-99.

⁵¹ Rawlinson B. 499, f. 132v.

⁵² *ibid.*, f. 129.

⁵³ *Register*, pp. 285, 307.

⁵⁴ *Register*, p. 27.

⁵⁵ *Register*, pp. 223-5.

⁵⁶ *Calendar of Christ Church Deeds*, no. 8.

⁵⁷ See the letter of Innocent III dated 17 Sept. 1198, in Migne, *P.L.* vol. 214, col. 343: 'ne contingat Rossensem ecclesiam que fere triennium iam vacavit diutius carere pastore.'

ordo of St. Victor. I have found only one other charter in Abbot William's register which mentions this *ordo* expressly: it is a charter by which William Aguillon grants certain tithes and benefices in Kilhymelach "to God and the church of St. Thomas of Dublin and to the regular canons *de ordine sancti Victoris* who there serve God."⁵⁸ Unfortunately there is no useful clue to the date of this grant.

The charter by which John Cumin granted the church of St. James to the canons of St. Thomas makes it plain that this church was to be a parish church, with boundaries that are set forth in detail in the archbishop's charter. This does not mean that the canons were expected to serve as priests in the new parish, and there is a great deal of uncertainty as to how far the Augustinian canons of French and English houses did in fact serve the parishes which had been entrusted to their care.⁵⁹ Cumin's charter is concerned with the temporal advantages that would accrue to the canons from this grant, which is made "for the increase of religion in the *ordo* of St. Victor." The archbishop grants the church of St. James with all its appurtenances, and states that he has invested the canons with the church canonically in full chapter "so that they may convert the fruits thence arising, saving the bishop's rights, to their own use and the maintenance of the poor and of guests." The canons are to have in perpetuity all the tithes from the mills on the parish land and from its arable fields; and if they prefer to rent the arable land to resident tenants, they are to have parochial rights over this part of their territory. The grant is thus plainly designed in the first place as a substantial addition to the monastery's revenues. It was most probably also to the spiritual advantage of the new parishioners who were henceforth dependent on the canons for the proper administration of the parish; but on this side of the bargain we have no clear details.

This grant of the parish church of St. James, coupled with the introduction of the *ordo* of St. Victor, was probably the immediate occasion of a definite change of status, that was destined to be permanent. All the charters prior to 1192, and including that year, in which Simon appears as grantor or witness, give him the title "prior of St. Thomas."⁶⁰ Ten years later it is certain that Simon was "abbot of St. Thomas"; for Cardinal John of Salerno, who came to this country as Innocent III's legate in 1202, issued a charter in which he confirmed all previous grants "to the abbot and canons of St. Thomas";⁶¹ and there is an entry on the *Liberate* rolls of 5 John (November 1202) that "the abbot of St. Thomas near Dublin has paid by brother W., his canon, for confirmation of the abbey's charters 15 marks of silver for 15 ounces of gold."⁶² The use of this new title can

⁵⁸ *Register*, p. 236.

⁵⁹ Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-23.

⁶⁰ I have noted the following: *Register*, pp. 62, 220; Royal Irish Academy MS. 12.D.2, f. 82; *Chart. St. Mary's* I, pp. 31, 68, 122, 173, 230, 232; *ibid.* II, p. 19; *Cal. Christ Church Deeds* no. 7;

Register of Hospital of St. John, ed. E. St. J. Brooks, p. 23.

⁶¹ *Register*, p. 223.

⁶² *Cal. Docs. Ire.* I, nos. 172, 189. The charter of confirmation is in Rawlinson B. 499, f. 18.

be traced some three years earlier, for "Simon, abbot of St. Thomas" made a formal agreement with Simon Rochfort, bishop of Meath, which was witnessed by Giraldus Cambrensis as well as by many others.⁶³ The date of this agreement must be later than 1192, when Simon Rochfort became bishop of Meath; and there is only one occasion on which it is known that Giraldus was in Ireland after that year. This was in the summer of 1199, when Giraldus—who had just been elected by the chapter of St. David's as their new bishop of Menevia (29 June 1199)—came to Ireland for a brief visit to his cousin, Meyler fitzHenry, who was then John's justiciar in this country. The date can be fixed very accurately from the *De rebus a se gestis*, in which Giraldus tells the long story of his struggle for this bishopric: "On the day after his election he (Giraldus) made ready a ship and with a wind from the east crossed to Ireland, where he met and consulted his kinsman, Meyler, then justiciar of that kingdom, and other magnates of the country; and he received high praise from all for his enterprise, and many promises of hands to help him in so great a matter. And before the third week after his sailing was ended, he recrossed the Irish Sea and came back to Mynyw."⁶⁴ Abbot Simon or the bishop of Meath must have asked the bishop-elect of Menevia to witness their agreement here in Dublin during his short visit; and the date of the agreement is thus fixed to the first three weeks of July 1199.

There are four undated grants by Abbot Simon which may perhaps be earlier than 1199, but may also be later.⁶⁵ Archbishop Cumin left Dublin for an absence that was to be prolonged for seven years early in 1198; and it is reasonable to assume that the change in status at St. Thomas must have been made with his consent. The most obvious occasion for the change is the introduction of the *ordo* of St. Victor, for it was customary that all Victorine houses should have abbatial dignity. If we could fix with certainty the date of John Cumin's charter, granting the church of St. James and making the first mention of this *ordo* as having recently been introduced into the monastery of St. Thomas, we could date a whole series of charters in which Simon appears, first as prior, then as abbot. But I have not been able to fix the date more accurately than after 1192 and before 1198; I think it probable that the change came soon after 1192.

4. THE ABBEY OF ST. THOMAS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Abbot Simon ruled his community for many long years after this change of status. In January 1217 the king (Henry III) was notified "that the abbot of St. Thomas was likely to die," and made provision for the custody of the vacant abbey by Archbishop Henry of Dublin.⁶⁶ But the

⁶³ *Register*, p. 325.

⁶⁴ Giraldus, *De rebus a se gestis* (ed. Dimock) III, c. 13.

⁶⁵ *Register*, pp. 59, 61, 180, 387. Dr.

Brooks tells me that Abbot Simon also witnesses two charters in the Chartularies of Llanthony, which he dates c. 1205-6.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* I, no. 746.

abbot was still alive more than six years later. On 17 August 1223 the king granted license to the canons of St. Thomas to elect a new abbot, having been notified "that the abbot is so spent with age that he is no longer able to rule his church, and is about to resign."⁶⁷ A new election seems to have taken place before the end of the month, for on 27 August the king granted letters of protection for two years for the abbot of St. Thomas.⁶⁸ Abbot Simon could thus look back on at least forty years of rule, perhaps as much as forty-six years if he was in fact (as seems probable) the first prior whom the new canons elected in 1177. During those forty-six years the community of "blessed Thomas the martyr" had prospered in temporals as well as in spirituals. A comparison of the possessions named by Cardinal John of Salerno in his general confirmation of 1202 with the possessions named in the bull of Gregory (December 1187) shows at a glance how many benefactions the canons had received under the rule of their first abbot; and new grants were probably made to the community between 1202 and 1223.⁶⁹ Abbot Simon's successor, whose name was Adam, obtained a general charter of protection from Henry III on 25 May 1227, in which the king ordered his bailiffs in Ireland to maintain the canons of St. Thomas, with all their men, lands, rents, property and possessions.⁷⁰ By that time it was indeed a rich inheritance.

In the summer of 1225 Abbot Adam sought and obtained an indemnity for that part of his monastery's lands which had been occupied by the fosse that was then being thrown up around the city of Dublin.⁷¹ In September 1227, a few weeks after the grant of general protection for the abbey, Abbot Adam, secured in the young king's favour, ventured to request him to lay the first stone of a church which he proposed to build in Dublin. The king, foreseeing the probability that he himself could not be present at the ceremony, issued a mandate to the justiciar (Geoffrey de Marisco) ordering him to supply the king's place in laying the first stone, and also to protect the abbot and his house as the king's special abbey.⁷² We hear again of this church more than twenty years later, when the king issued a mandate to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol, ordering them to deliver to the abbot and canons of St. Thomas, Dublin, the stone which they had caused to be collected at Bristol for the construction of their church in Dublin, which the bailiffs of Bristol had caused to be arrested for the repair of the king's castle in Bristol. Any stone that had already been used for this work in Bristol was to be restored to the abbot and canons, who are also now granted a general permit to convey whatever stone they may have collected whither they will.⁷³ Building difficulties were as familiar to the citizens of Dublin and Bristol seven hundred years ago as they are to-day.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, no. 1132.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, no. 1135.

⁶⁹ Rawlinson B. 499, f. 129; *Register*, pp. 223-5.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* I, no. 1522. Full text in Rawlinson B. 499, f. 3v.

⁷¹ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* I, no. 1314.

⁷² *ibid.*, no. 1553.

⁷³ *ibid.*, no. 3107.

It is a pity that no trace of this monastic church survives to-day. Presumably it was built, as was also the fine cathedral church of St. Patrick's, in the fashionable Early English style which is still so impressive as a witness to medieval taste and skill in building.

Abbot Adam seems to have contemplated resignation of his office as early as July 1227, when the canons of St. Thomas obtained a grant from the king that two religious of the house should have custody of the abbey on their abbot's death or resignation.⁷⁴ Adam finally resigned early in 1230. The king granted license to elect at some date in April, and made a further concession to the canons by permitting the archbishop elect of Dublin (Luke), to give the royal assent to the election in the king's place; but on condition that this grant was not to form a precedent.⁷⁵ The new abbot, Nicholas, was destined to rule the abbey for more than twenty years. He it was who was busy building the abbey's church in 1250, and we find three grants made by him from the monastery's lands in the surviving registers.⁷⁶ Two other entries on the English close rolls suggest that the citizens of Dublin were becoming restive under the abbey's many privileges. In March 1234 the good men of Dublin inform the king that his constable in Dublin is exacting a prisage of beer from them under penalty of distraint; but King John had already made a grant of a prisage of beer to the abbot and canons of St. Thomas, and they find themselves unable to meet the double burden.⁷⁷ In June of the same year the king issues a mandate to the mayor and citizens of Dublin, forbidding them to use the customs which the king had granted them for the enclosure of their city as a means of providing corn and victuals for the abbot and canons of St. Thomas.⁷⁸ The king himself was not slow to show favour to "his special abbey." In September 1240 the king issued a mandate to his justiciar (Maurice FitzGerald) commanding him to cause the feast of St. Thomas martyr to be celebrated in the church of St. Thomas in Dublin, by Archbishop Luke in person, with eight hundred lighted tapers to be made for that purpose; and the feast of St. Edward the Confessor is to be celebrated in like manner in the saint's chapel in Dublin Castle as well as in the two churches of St. Thomas and Holy Trinity (Christ Church).⁷⁹ Special honours of this kind have their own burdens attached to them; and it is not surprising to find the king, just eighteen months later, naming the abbot of St. Thomas as the prelate on whose aid he counted most in his project (which came to nothing after all) of crossing over from England to Ireland.⁸⁰ Henry III never visited Dublin, but his personal interest in the royal abbey of St. Thomas is plain in the sharp mandate which (as we have

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, no. 1525. Abbot Adam made three grants of land: *Register*, pp. 60, 141, 181. In 1229 his attorney made an agreement in the abbot's name: *ibid.*, p. 339.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* I. no. 1797.

⁷⁶ *Register*, pp. 5, 99, 345. There is also an agreement between Abbot Nicholas

and a clerk of the diocese of Ossory, which is later than 1244: *ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* I. no. 2095.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, no. 2137.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, no. 2497.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, no. 2559.

seen) he addressed to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol in January 1251, bidding them make restitution to the abbot of the stone which they had seized and used for the repair of Bristol Castle. Abbot Nicholas also secured a bull of general protection for his abbey from Innocent IV on 5 February 1247.⁸¹

Abbot Nicholas had either died or resigned his office before 18 May 1252, when the king gave his royal assent to the election of his successor, Brother William, who had hitherto been prior of St. Thomas.⁸² As a special mark of his royal favour, the king empowered the justiciar (John fitzGeoffrey) to take fealty from the elect and to give him seisin of the lands and possessions belonging to the abbey. In return for this concession, which saved the new abbot the expense and trouble of a journey to England, Abbot William paid the king a fine of ten marks.⁸³ That is almost the sole surviving record of Abbot William's brief rule, for he had resigned his office at some date before 11 July 1258, when the king granted license to the prior and convent to elect a new abbot.⁸⁴

The new abbot was an Englishman, Warin of Lichfield; and once again the king granted the concession, that was soon to become habitual, that John fitzThomas and William de Bakepuz, escheator in Ireland, should take the king's place in granting the royal assent and restoring temporalities after receiving fealty from the new abbot.⁸⁵ On folio 1* of Abbot William's register there is an old list of the abbey's land in Dublin "as it was measured in the ninth year of the consecration of Brother Warin, abbot." The total of land in Dublin is given as 105 acres.⁸⁶ Apart from this list we have two agreements which Abbot Warin made concerning the abbey's lands outside Dublin; and four papal bulls which he secured from Alexander IV against persons unnamed who were seeking to defraud the abbey of its lawful rights and property.⁸⁷ Abbot Warin had died before 17 May 1270, when the prior and canons of St. Thomas sent two of their number to the king, now an old man, praying license to elect.⁸⁸ In return for a fine of twenty pounds the king granted them the further concession that the justiciar might grant royal assent to the election, take fealty from the elect and restore temporalities: "having first received from the prior and convent letters sealed with their seal, undertaking that this grace shall not be converted into a precedent nor hereafter tend to the king's prejudice."⁸⁹ One feels in this carefully worded clause the influence of those trained officials who, whether they worked in Westminster or in Dublin, never failed in their vigilance to safeguard the king's rights and to insist on regular procedure.

This same influence is seen in the register which the new abbot of St. Thomas caused to be compiled soon after his election and consecration.

⁸¹ Rawlinson B. 499, ff. 137v-139v.

⁸² *Cal. Docs. Ire.* II, no. 37.

⁸³ *ibid.*, nos. 38, 39.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, no. 589. Abbot William granted Stephen de Valle an oratory 'infra curiam suam': *Register*, p. 191.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, nos. 588 (the petition of the canons); 590 (the king's mandate).

⁸⁶ *Register*, p. 3.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 100-1; 175-7; Rawlinson B. 499, ff. 130, 131v, 132, 137v.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* II, no. 870.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, nos. 871, 873.

For the abbot who succeeded to Warin of Lichfield in the summer of 1270 was William the Welshman, whom we have already named as author of the register which was printed by Gilbert in 1889. We shall see that he is also most probably the abbot who secured for his community the fine Victorine book from Bristol which survives to-day as T.C.D. MS. B.3.5.⁹⁰ He held office until his death in September 1289, and we may fairly assume that the monastery was both prosperous and well disciplined under his rule. The official rolls record regular payment of the king's alms to the abbot and community, and a grant made on 7 November 1289, in the last year of Abbot William's rule, deserves special mention.⁹¹ An unlucky fire had recently destroyed some of the abbey's buildings, and Edward I orders his justiciar, who was then John de Saunford, archbishop of Dublin, to cause the abbot and convent of St. Thomas to have of the king's gift twenty oak trees fit for timber from the king's forest of Glencree. No further details are given, and in general we know singularly little of the monastic buildings which have long since disappeared.

A petition has survived in the Public Records which has most unfortunately been detached from the mandate to which it was formerly annexed, and can thus no longer be accurately dated. But it seems to belong to Abbot William's last years or to the first years of his successor. In this petition the abbot and convent of St. Thomas pray the king for a writ of limits between the barony of their abbey, which they hold of the king in chief, and the common of the city of Dublin. The ground of their petition is their wish for a final settlement regarding the trespasses and usurpations caused by the citizens in their barony "to the manifest disherison of the abbot and convent."⁹² It is plain that the citizens of Dublin lost few occasions of showing their discontent at the abbey's privileged position so near the walls of their city. The lack of a fixed date for this petition is all the more to be regretted, since it would be most instructive to know whether this complaint on the part of the abbot of St. Thomas has any relation with a very curious compact made between the citizens of Waterford, Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Drogheda in the year 1285. The text of this compact has been preserved in the White Book of Dublin (f. 53).⁹³ The mayor and citizens or burghers of these various cities and towns pledge themselves mutually to maintain their liberties, to meet annually at Kilkenny and there hold council together for their common benefit, and to bear proportionately the expenses thus incurred. It is a pity that we have so few trustworthy details as to the growth of this common civic sense in our Irish towns.

In a letter which was probably written in 1283, Edward I orders two of his officials to do what they can to aid the abbot of St. Thomas, who has

⁹⁰ See below, p. 27.

⁹¹ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* III, no. 542.

⁹² *ibid.*, no. 1176; see also Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents*, pp. 212-3; Richardson and Sayles, 'Irish

Parliaments of Edward I', in *Proc. R.I.A.* (1929), p. 138, note 74.

⁹³ Full text printed by Gilbert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 196-7.

represented that he was not able to come frequently in person to the court of England to seek a remedy for the oppressions he suffered.⁹⁴ Abbot William had resigned his office before 22 September 1290, when Brothers Henry of Hauterive and Adam le Barun, who had been sent as messengers to announce their abbot's resignation, had license from the king to elect a new abbot.⁹⁵ A delay of some three months followed; but the canons had chosen their prior, an Englishman named Ralph of Wiltshire, to be their new abbot before 8 January 1291, when Edward I gave his royal assent to the election.⁹⁶ The king issued the customary mandate to his justiciar, William de Vescy, commanding him, if the election is canonically confirmed by the archbishop, to take fealty from the elect and restore temporalities in lieu of the king, subject to the customary legal safeguards.⁹⁷ What followed is known to us from an extract taken from the rolls of the justices in eyre at Dublin, and sent to the exchequer.⁹⁸ The justiciar was in Dublin when the election took place in the abbey of St. Thomas, and Ralph (as abbot elect) took to him the king's letters commanding him to give the abbot seisin of his temporalities once he had done fealty for them and given the justiciar letters patent, sealed with the seal of his community, in which he formally protested that this grant should not be taken as a precedent and should not be to the king's disadvantage. At some date before March 25, Abbot Ralph was consecrated, presumably by Archbishop John de Saunford. Meanwhile the justiciar had gone to Waterford, and the newly consecrated abbot made his way southwards, taking with him the abbey's common seal wherewith to seal his letters patent for the king. William de Vescy seems to have had little liking or respect for the abbot and canons of St. Thomas.⁹⁹ He took the seal from the abbot, and held it in his custody for the next six or seven weeks, thereby delaying restitution of temporalities. Later, when the abbot sued him for damages to the value of a hundred pounds, the justiciar alleged that he had taken the seal into his custody for fear "that danger might accrue to the house by the canons carrying it uncovered." He had ordered it to be closed under the seal of John de Malton, the seneschal of Kildare, who was then supposed to restore it to the abbot; and the justiciar protested his ignorance of the long delay that had ensued. But twelve jurors found this plea insufficient, and assessed damages sustained by the abbot owing to this delay at fifty pounds. Let us hope that the abbot was duly paid this sum, but payment was never prompt in such matters in medieval society.

Abbot Ralph must have gone to England soon after this unpleasant incident, no doubt in part to assure the king of his fealty and to urge the just claims of his community. The king's good will had already been shown in an important grant, made within a few days of his royal assent to the

⁹⁴ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* III, no. 525; Richardson and Sayles, loc. cit., p. 137, note 70.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Docs. Ire.* III, no. 777.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, no. 832.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, no. 833.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, IV, no. 106 (pp. 54-5).

⁹⁹ Abbot Ralph sued the justiciar at the same time for injuries done to him by unlawful distraint: *ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

abbot's election. On 14 January 1291 he issued a formal *Inspeximus* and confirmation of the original foundation charter of Henry II, with two valuable charters of John and two others of Walter de Lacy, which confirmed the abbey's very valuable holdings in the lordship of Meath.¹⁰⁰ On 20 August 1292, when Abbot Ralph had most probably been in England for the best part of twelve months, the king granted him letters of protection since "he is remaining in England by license on the affairs of his church."¹⁰¹ Shortly before his resignation Abbot William the Welshman had found it necessary to petition the treasurer in England for an official schedule of the accounts of Nicholas of Clare, the treasurer in Ireland, whose payment of the royal alms to the abbey had been unsatisfactory for the past four years.¹⁰² No doubt Abbot Ralph took this opportunity of urging the just claims of his predecessor, for he himself had been prior of the abbey during Abbot William's last years and must have been familiar with all these temporal problems. His own recent experience of the delays caused by the justiciar at Waterford had been an unpleasant reminder that the king's officers in Dublin were less friendly than the king himself seems to have been; and it was not until December 1293 that he got legal satisfaction in his suit against William de Vescy.¹⁰³ It would be tedious to describe in detail the various minor pleas and fines which can be traced in the published *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* during the next fifteen years. Abbot Ralph had no easy burden to bear, and it is not surprising that his long rule of almost thirty years ended with his resignation in the winter of 1317-18, when the city of Dublin was just beginning to breathe freely once more after the very real threat of siege and assault by the army of Edward Bruce.¹⁰⁴ The final blow to the aged abbot must have been the destruction wrought by the citizens in their desperate determination to bar the invader's path to the city. Bruce had reached Castleknock by 23 February 1317, where he held Hugh Tyrrell and his wife to ransom. On that same night the citizens of Dublin set fire to the whole suburb of St. Thomas, burning down the church of St. John and the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen.¹⁰⁵ The abbey of St. Thomas seems to have escaped from the terror of that night, but the damage done to the abbey's property must have been very great. Edward Bruce drew back to Leixlip, and finally abandoned his plan for assaulting the city; but we may pardon Abbot Ralph for his decision that the time had come for a younger man to take over the burden which he had borne for so long. Shortly before his resignation (24 June 1316) he had obtained from Edward II a general charter by which more than forty earlier charters were confirmed; the text of this long charter is in Rawlinson B. 499, ff. 3v-15.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* III, no. 839. The full text of this charter is in Rawlinson B. 499, ff. 17v-19.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.* III, no. 1144.

¹⁰² *ibid.* III, no. 547; for further complaints against Nicholas, see Richardson and Sayles, *loc. cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁰³ *ibid.* IV, no. 106 (p. 55).

¹⁰⁴ Sir James Ware's list, in Rawlinson B. 499, f. 151; see below, p. 34.

¹⁰⁵ *Annals of Christopher Pembrige*, a. 1317 (printed by Gilbert in *Chart. St. Mary's* II, p. 299).

The election which followed was disputed, and marks a definite turning point in the abbey's history. The canons of St. Thomas seem to have taken the law into their own hands, and on 25 April 1318 they chose as their new abbot Brother Stephen Tyrrell, their prior, whose name is sufficient guarantee of his local connections with the men of Dublin.¹⁰⁶ But by some process which is no longer clear an Englishman named Nicholas Whitwell secured a provision from Pope John XXII before June 1318, and recognition of this provision from Edward II.¹⁰⁷ Whitwell came to Dublin in 1318 or 1319, and made an effort to assert his claim; but local opposition was too strong and he was forced to retire from the scene. He made his way to Avignon in 1320, where he could plead his cause before the Pope who had given him an incautious provision; but his name then disappears from the story.¹⁰⁸ Abbot Stephen Tyrrell was more than able to hold his own, and it is most significant that from this date forward, throughout the next two centuries, the traditional entries concerning the death or resignation of the abbot of St. Thomas, together with all the complicated formalities connected with the election and confirmation of his successor are missing from the official English patent rolls. It seems to be certain that from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the reign of Henry VIII the canons of Dublin were able to assert their right to elect a new abbot without direct reference to the king in England. The loss of our Irish public records makes it impossible to confirm this conclusion from a detailed study of the surviving evidence; but Sir James Ware, working in the first half of the seventeenth century, had access to many Irish official records which have long since perished. The list of abbots of St. Thomas which he has made out in his own handwriting at the end of Rawlinson B. 499, is most imperfect for the thirteenth century, since he had not access to the English records which we can consult to-day. But from the election of Stephen Tyrrell onwards his list, though probably far from accurate in every detail, is of great interest; and it shows plainly the increasing predominance of local Anglo-Irish names.¹⁰⁹

5. TWO DUBLIN VICTORINE MANUSCRIPTS.

Apart from the two surviving registers of St. Thomas, two other manuscripts have come down to us that are known to have been in the monastic library. One of these is now in the library of Trinity College as T.C.D. MS. B.3.5; the other is in the British Museum as Add. MS. 24,198. A short account of these two manuscripts will show that each of them adds something to our knowledge of the abbey's history in medieval times.

¹⁰⁶ Ware's list: see below p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edw. II* (1317-21), pp. 153-4, 161, 199-200.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 376, 507. There is a record of Abbot Tyrrell's final success

(17 Oct., 1321), in the Dublin Record Office (*Calendar of Memoranda Rolls XII*, p. 557).

¹⁰⁹ See below, pp. 34-5.

MS. B.3.5 is one of the many manuscripts which came to Trinity College with Archbishop Ussher's library. It has three old shelf-marks, the first of which is a mark that goes back to Ussher's day: HHH. 52; B.2.23; C.54. The binding is modern, and there is no shelf-mark or note of ownership which can be traced back to medieval times. But a note has been written three times on the first of three blank leaves at the end of the volume: "per me henricum Duff." Henry Duff was the last abbot of St. Thomas, who surrendered the abbey to the king on 25 July 1538.¹¹⁰ Two further indications of ownership can be found in the volume. At the foot of f. 3r there is a long memorandum of an agreement, dated 6 July 1478, by which Abbot John and the community of St. Thomas enter into an agreement with Abbot Walter (Champfleur) of St. Mary's, Philip Bermingham and James Aylmer concerning prayers to be said for the repose of the souls of Elizabeth Holywood, Alice Trevers, Walter Chever, Elizabeth Welles, John and William Chever, in return for money given for the reparation of the monastic church of St. Thomas. Furthermore, the incomplete calendar which is now at the beginning of the volume includes the feasts of the following Irish saints: Brigid (Feb. 1); Patrick (March 17); Brendan (May 16); Kevin (June 3); Columba (June 9). The incomplete martyrology which is now on ff. 33-72 adds two more Irish saints: Laurence (November 14); and Columbanus (November 21); and there is an exceptionally long and eulogistic commemoration of St. Thomas of Canterbury under the date December 29, in which the saint is given the title "reverendi patris" (f. 71). The conclusion seems to be obvious that this book contains a calendar and martyrology compiled for use in some church dedicated to St. Thomas in Ireland. All these indications thus concur in proving that this book was formerly the property of the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin.

A large portion of this manuscript is written in a fine English hand of the thirteenth century. The book may have been written here in Dublin or (perhaps more probably) written at St. Augustine's, Bristol, and brought to Dublin before 1280. On ff. 73-153 there are texts of the various monastic rules, beginning with the rule of St. Augustine as commented by Hugh of St. Victor (ff. 73-97a).¹¹¹ This is followed by a shorter text, of which no other copy seems to survive elsewhere: a treatise by Richard of St. Victor "de questionibus regule sancti Augustini solutis" (ff. 97a-104a).¹¹² This is followed by a full text of the Victorine *Liber ordinis*, or monastic rule, in ninety-three chapters (ff. 104b-148r). The thirty-fourth chapter of this *liber ordinis* deals with signs that could be used by the monks in times of silence,

¹¹⁰ Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 197.

¹¹¹ Printed in Migne, *P. L.*, 176, 881-924.

¹¹² M. Vernet of the Ecole des Chartes tells me that he has not been able to trace any text of this treatise in the numerous Victorine manuscripts which still survive in the libraries of Paris.

and has been printed by H. F. Berry in the *Journal* of this Society.¹¹³ Some matter supplemental to this rule is given on ff. 148-153. The whole of this long section, with the exception of ff. 151v-153v, is written in a very fine hand of the latter half of the thirteenth century. From its contents it is obviously a Victorine book.

This section of the volume is followed by a short section (ff. 154-166) with the Epistles and Gospels for the year, which interrupts the general sequence of the contents; but a note on f. 140v, in a hand contemporary with the main hand, shows that this section was bound in its present place from the beginning. For the reader is there told to look below for a portion of the text that has been wrongly placed: "quere inferius ante epistulas et euangelia." The main contents are resumed on ff. 167-253, with matter suitable for monastic reading: the rule of St. Benedict, with glosses (ff. 167-179b); the rule of St. Francis, without glosses (ff. 179b-180c); followed by two papal bulls concerning the interpretation of the rule of St. Francis, a bull of Gregory IX (28 September 1250), and a bull of Nicholas III (17 August 1279). This latter text is a later insertion on a separate gathering (ff. 182-7). The absence of the very important bull of Boniface VIII (*Super cathedram*) on the same subject, which was published on 18 February 1300, suggests a *terminus post*. These dates fit well with the evidence of the handwriting.

The rest of this section of the volume is of less interest, though we may note (ff. 220-228) a treatise by Hugh of St. Victor "de institutione nouiciorum."¹¹⁴ This text occurs in a gathering of twelve leaves (ff. 220-241), of which the last two were left blank. A later hand has copied on these two leaves a short constitution of Benedict XII, dated June 1335, on the recall of apostate monks. The last gathering of this section contains a text of Innocent III's well-known treatise "de contemptu mundi" (ff. 242-253). An entirely separate section, written in a different hand and of earlier date than the rest of the volume, fills ff. 254-277 of the volume in its present state. This last section contains the full text of a moral poem, entitled "Urbanus," written by Daniel of Beccles, apparently in the late twelfth century. In 1939 Dr. J. G. Smyly edited this poem from this Dublin manuscript, collating it with two other thirteenth-century texts (Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 47, and Cambridge, Gonville and Gaius MS. 61).¹¹⁵ In his preface (p. viii) he notes the presence of numerous glosses and illustrative quotations, in various hands. One hand in particular has a special interest since Dr. Smyly has rightly judged it to have "a distinctively Irish character." One note written by this hand is of importance for our purpose. Commenting on verse 1756 of the poem ("Sepius in burgis

¹¹³ *JRSAL*. 22 (1892), pp. 107-25. Other copies of this *ordo sancti Victoris* are to be found in the following MSS.: Bibl. Ste. Genevieve MSS. 1636, 1637, 1646; Bibl. Nat. MSS. Lat. 14673-76, 15059-63. See Mgr. Fourier Bounard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale . . . de*

St. Victor de Paris (2 vols.: Paris, 1905-7) I, p. xxviii.

¹¹⁴ Printed in Migne, *P. L.*, 176, 925-52.

¹¹⁵ *Urbanus Magnus Danielis Becclesiensis* (Dublin, 1939).

opulentos pauperat ignis"), the glossator refers to a recent fire in the city of Dublin: "Anno domini 1283 media nocte die sabbati oct. s. Stephani et s. Joannis Euangeliste itur Dublinie (infra) muros." We know from other sources that Dublin was ravaged by a great fire on the night of 3 January 1283, and that the steeple of Christ Church Cathedral was destroyed on that occasion.¹¹⁶ It will be seen that this date fits very well with the date suggested by the latest dated document in the main section of this manuscript, 17 August 1279.

We may thus take the main portion of this very interesting monastic book as a manuscript which had found its way into the library of St. Thomas, Dublin, soon after the year 1279; and we are thus once more brought back to the rule of Abbot William the Welshman as a time when care was taken to maintain monastic discipline as well as the temporal possessions of the abbey. I am not so sure that the incomplete calendar and martyrology, which fill the two first sections of the volume in its present state, belong to the same date. The calendar is now mutilated, for two double leaves have been lost after f. 4. The calendar is thus complete for the first eight months of the year, since each leaf contained the feasts of two months, one on the recto, the other on the verso. This calendar is followed (ff. 5-32) by an incomplete Latin poem on the rules of reckoning the church's liturgical feasts. The execution of this portion of the manuscript is a very fine piece of book-production, and I think that it is quite possible that we have here the earliest surviving example of a book produced in Dublin. For the presence of Irish saints, particularly of St. Kevin, indicates a calendar produced for use in Dublin. The loss of the last four months of the year means that we have not the entries for St. Laurence (November 14), and St. Thomas (December 29); but these two saints occur in the martyrology.

By an unfortunate coincidence the martyrology is also incomplete, for two other double leaves have been lost after f. 36. Since the text of the martyrology begins on f. 33, this means that all the entries from 5 January to 10 February (inclusive) are now missing. The martyrology is written in a hand that is quite unlike any other hand in the volume, and the large number of commemorations of French saints suggests very strongly a French origin. Moreover, a detailed study of these French entries has convinced me that the substance of this martyrology is of southern French origin, most probably from the great metropolitan province of Arles. But the handwriting is apparently not French, but English or Anglo-Irish. Frequently at the end of the older entries for the day there occurs in the last line of the martyrology for the day a short entry concerning an English or Irish saint; and these entries are always written in the same hand as the main body of the text. For the most part the Irish entries correspond with

¹¹⁶ Anglo-Irish Annals of Ireland, a. *Mary's* II, p. 318-9; Annals of St. 1283 (printed by Gilbert in *Chart. St. Mary's*, *ibid.* II, p. 290.

the Irish entries in the calendar; but a comparison is inevitably of limited value, since only a portion of the ecclesiastical year (from 11 February to 31 August) is common to both.

Both the calendar and the martyrology contain a large number of entries concerning English saints. The following occur in the calendar: Wulfstan (Jan. 19); Cadoc (Jan. 24); Werburg (Feb. 3); Milburga (Feb. 23); Oswald (Feb. 28); David (March 1); Edward king (March 18); Cuthbert (March 20); George (April 23); Dunstan (May 19); Augustine "Anglorum primus doctor" (May 26); Alban "Prothomartyr Anglorum" (June 22); translation of St. Thomas (July 7); Kenelm (July 17); Oswald (August 5). The presence of St. David, St. Cadoc, St. Werburg and St. Milburga suggests at once the possibility of influence from Bristol, and I was fortunate enough to get help at this point from Mr. A. Sabine, who is archivist at St. Augustine's Cathedral (formerly the Victorine monastery) at Bristol. He called my attention to the existence of a fine fifteenth-century missal, now in the City Library;¹¹⁷ and also to the existence of another English Victorine calendar in the New York Public Library, MS. 20. I have compared the calendars of these three liturgical books in detail, and find that beyond all question they must derive from a common ecclesiastical tradition. The evidence of the Bristol missal is unfortunately incomplete, for the *sanctorale* of this missal ends abruptly with the feast of the Finding of the Cross (May 3); and there is no calendar at the beginning of the book. The New York calendar, which I have been able to study from photostats now in the City Library at Bristol, is complete; and is thus a sole complete witness to the Victorine liturgical observance in England. Neither the New York calendar nor the Bristol missal have any Irish saints except St. Patrick (missing from the Bristol book), St. Brigid (common to both), and St. Brendan (who occurs in the New York book, the Bristol book being here incomplete). The English saints found in the Dublin calendar and martyrology recur, almost without exception or change, in the two books of English Victorine origin.

We have thus a very valuable indication of the close ecclesiastical bonds between the abbey of St. Augustine, Bristol, and the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin. The origin of the New York missal is unfortunately not known. It would be pleasant to believe that it is a Keynsham book, and that we have thus a further indication of the connection between Bristol, Keynsham and Dublin which we have found in a twelfth-century charter.¹¹⁸ But Wigmore was also an important Victorine monastery in the twelfth century, and this New York missal may be a Wigmore book.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ This manuscript has been described by E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, 'Notes on a Bristol Manuscript Missal', in *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* IV, part 4 (1899), pp. 277-92. See also Dean Norris Mathews, *Early Printed Books and Manuscripts in the City*

Reference Library, Bristol (Bristol, 1899) p. 64.

¹¹⁸ See above p. 17.

¹¹⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, p. 159.

The date of the Dublin calendar and martyrology is not easily determined. Since the calendar contains the two Franciscan feasts of St. Francis, who was canonised in 1228, and St. Anthony of Padua, who was canonised in 1232, the text must be later than that date. The absence of St. Dominic, who was canonised in 1234, is useless as a clue to the calendar's date; for the presence of two Franciscan saints may be due to the fact that the Friars Minor, who had been established at Bristol from a date in the early thirteenth century, seem to have been more popular in Bristol than the Friars Preachers.¹²⁰ As it happens, the martyrology of the Dublin manuscript has evidence that points in the opposite direction. It mentions the feasts of St. Dominic (August 4) and St. Peter Martyr (April 29), both Dominican saints; but omits St. Francis and St. Anthony. The mention of St. Peter Martyr, who was canonised by Innocent IV in 1253, gives a fixed date as *terminus ante* for the martyrology; but it is not certain that the calendar and martyrology, both written in very different hands, were produced at the same time. I think it probable, however, that these two liturgical texts were copied for use as a single volume, which has lost two sets of two double leaves and is now bound with a larger volume of quite distinct character.

A further indication of date can be found in the series of obits which have been entered, in various later hands, at different points of the Dublin calendar. Some of these obits are accurately dated; and the earliest in date is the obit of Margery of Greenock (March 3), who is entered as the mother of Brother John of Greenock. Margery's death is dated 1247; and a second obit for May 19, written in the same hand, gives the death of Henry of Greenock as 1263. It seems probable that these two obits were entered by Brother John himself, or by reason of his presence in the community of St. Thomas. They suggest that the calendar was already in use before 1263; and there is nothing in the martyrology to contradict that date. The evidence of palaeography is here most uncertain, for the calendar has been executed in a fine Gothic style, which was so conservative in its traditions of handwriting, especially in liturgical books, as to make exact dating impossible. The martyrology may well have been written about the middle of the thirteenth century. If this date is accepted as probable, we may perhaps see in the calendar and martyrology two liturgical documents that were executed, most probably in Dublin, for the use of the canons of St. Thomas in the time of Abbot Warin of Lichfield (1258-70). Abbot Warin's predecessor was busy building the abbey church of St. Thomas.¹²¹ There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that some member of his community may have been the skilled scribe who produced this fine liturgical calendar, from a Bristol model; whilst the martyrology must have been copied from a French model, with additions of a local character.

¹²⁰ *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester, 1951), pp. 45, 49; A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), p. 226.

¹²¹ See above, p. 21.

The Dublin missal, which is now Add. MS. 24,198 in the British Museum, is later in date and very much less interesting. It is a vellum folio of 133 leaves, of which ff. 2-124 were written in the fourteenth century, whilst ff. 125-8 contains later additions written in the fifteenth century. A few scraps have been pasted into the volume as ff. 129-131; and ff. 1, 132, 133 are fly-leaves taken from an older hymnal. The old shelf-mark N 26 occurs on f. 1v. James Cotterell, who was abbot of St. Thomas from 1526 to 1531, being Henry Duff's immediate predecessor, has written his name twice on f. 54v: "Jacobus coterell abas scti Thome me possidet"; and (at foot of page): "per me Ja. cotterell abas scti thome". The good abbot's Latin seems to have been as weak as his tenure of office. He resigned in 1531, and received a pension of ten pounds when the abbey was surrendered in 1538. Abbot Henry Duff, who made the formal surrender, received at the same time a pension of forty pounds per annum.¹²²

The connection of this missal with the abbey of St. Thomas is further demonstrated by the fact that ff. 2-11v contain an office for the blessing of an abbot, in which the bishop is required to announce the presence of the abbot elect as follows (f. 3): "Ecclesie sancti Thome martiris iuxta Dubliniam pater electus, fratres karissimi, suum adest ordinem ad suscipiendum." And the profession of obedience on f. 3v is made to the Dublin metropolitan.

There is a litany of saints in this blessing of the abbot which should be compared with a very similar litany for Holy Saturday, to be found in the Bristol manuscript. In the Bristol manuscript St. Victor is named third in the list of martyrs, immediately after the Holy Innocents and St. Stephen; and this is the order to be found in the official liturgy of St. Victor, Paris.¹²³ St. Thomas (of Canterbury) has the eleventh place, immediately after St. Denis (of Paris) and before St. Sebastian. In the Dublin missal these places are exchanged. St. Thomas, as patron of the monastery, comes third in the litany; and St. Victor takes the eleventh place. SS. George, Edward, Edmund and Oswald come at the end of the martyrs in both litanies. In the litany of confessors the Bristol manuscript names St. Augustine (of Canterbury) twice in the second place, immediately after St. Silvester and before St. Hilary; thus honouring the patron of their monastery. St. Augustine of Hippo is named twice at a later stage, immediately after St. Martin and before St. Gregory. The litany of confessors ends with SS. Benedict, Giles, Cuthbert and Leonard. In the Dublin missal St. Patrick follows immediately after the first St. Augustine (of Canterbury), and St. Augustine (of Hippo) is in the same place as in the Bristol Litany. St. Laurence (O'Toole) and St. Edmund (of Canterbury), who was canonised in

¹²² Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 197; M. V. Ronan, *The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1558* (1926), pp. 196-7.

¹²³ Norris Mathews, *Early Printed*

Books and Manuscripts in Bristol City Library, p. 64. Dean Mathews knew nothing of the Dublin MS.

1246) occur after St. Nicholas and before St. Remigius; and St. Bernard is inserted after St. Benedict towards the end of the Dublin litany. The litany of virgins is the same in both books, ending with St. Brigid.

Apart from the fact that each of these two liturgical books contains the signature of an abbot of St. Thomas immediately before the suppression of the monastery in 1538, the chief interest in their survival lies in the fact that they confirm so strikingly the evidence we have found elsewhere for a close and continuous connection between the two Victorine monasteries of St. Augustine, Bristol, and St. Thomas, Dublin, throughout the whole of the thirteenth century. Here in Dublin we are fortunate in possessing one of the finest surviving books of the great Victorine tradition in Paris, and it seems probable that this manuscript contains the unique text of a short commentary on the rule of St. Augustine by the great Victorine theologian, Richard of St. Victor. The calendar at the beginning of this volume, and the incomplete martyrology which follows it, are of special interest as being very probably our sole surviving specimens of books produced here in Dublin during the thirteenth century.

Mr. Geoffrey Hand has recently called my attention to a document which adds a hitherto unknown detail concerning the work of these Victorine canons of St. Thomas for the education of Dublin boys. In the year 1363 the abbot and canons of St. Thomas petitioned Edward III for an increase of royal alms needed to maintain the good works and prayers of the community. The king ordered an inquisition to be held, and the report of this inquisition (dated on Tuesday before the feast of St. Laurence 37 Edw. III) is extant in the Public Record Office of London (C.47/10/22/16). Among the good works which the abbot enumerates as part of the monastery's traditional charge is the duty of providing for the support and education of twenty-four young clerks (*viginti quatuor clericulos*) who are living as students in the abbey, for as long as they wish to remain and continue their studies. There is no word of this particular charge on the abbey's revenues in any of the charters known to me from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but it is plain from the abbot's petition that by the time of Edward III this duty had been accepted as an ancient customary charge, and was believed to date back to the first years of the abbey's foundation. It is thus most probable that the canons for whose use this fine Victorine book was either compiled or purchased in the late thirteenth century were already teaching and supporting twenty-four young Dublin boys in the time of Edward I. The history of this royal abbey is thus no mean chapter in the long and varied history of the medieval city of Dublin.

APPENDIX

Ware's Catalogue of the Abbots of St. Thomas, Dublin.
(Rawlinson MS. B. 499, ff. 151-2)

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| vixit 1200 | Simon | obiit 1228. |
| | Adam | |
| vixit 1233 | Nicholaus | successit an. 1230. |
| | Warinus. | electus circa an. 1259. praefuit annos 12. |
| | Gulielmus le Walleis resignavit mense Augusto 1290. cum praefuisset annos circiter 19. | |
| 5 | | |
| 1314 | Sub | medium quadragesimae insequentis in successorem electus Radulphus de Wiltshire huius coenobii Prior, praefuit annos circiter 28. Abdicavit sub initium anni 1318. |
| | Nicholaus Whitwell | resignavit 1318. |
| | Stephanus Tirrell | huius coenobii Prior, electus Abbas assensum Regium obtinuit 25 Aprilis 1318. obiit sub exitum anni 1328. cum praefuisset plus quam annos 10. |
| vid. fol. 86.
87 et 88. | Eius tempore Coenobium S. ^{ae} Katherinae iuxta Saltum Salmonum (quod Warisius Pech circa an. 1224 fundaverat) Edw. 3. assensu, coenobio S. Tho: Dublinii annexum est et unitum. | |
| | Gulielmus de Cloncurry successit mense Aprili 1329. et ante finem eiusdem anni resignavit. | |
| | Nicholaus Allen huius coenobii Canonicus 15 Febr. 1329 (stilo Angl.) temporalibus restitutus est. Et sub initium anni 1353 episcopus Midensis consecratus, cum illam ecclesiam administrasset annos ferme 14. Ex hac vita migravit 15 Januarii stilo Anglicano 1366. | |
| Joannes Walsh abbas electus anno 1353. obiit 2 Aprilis 1365. | | |
| Thomas Scurlock Prior coenobii S. Petri novae villae iuxta Trim successit et praefuit hic annos 26, factus interea Hiberniae Quaestor sive Thesaurarius. Decessit 3. Maii 1391. | | |
| Richardus Tutbury ex hujus coenobii Priore abbas electus mense Junio 1391. (cum praefuisset annos 5 et menses 11) resignavit 10 Maii 1397. Interim inter eum et Joannem Serjeant (a Papa Bonifacio 9. provisum) magna fuit contentio de jure Abbatiae. | | |
| Joannes Shirborne Prior domus B. Mariae Lovidiae eodem mense in successorem electus decessit circa 27 insequentis Junii. cum unico dumtaxat mense praefuisset. | | |
| Nicholaus Abbot hujus coenobii Canonicus in abbatem electus 12 Julii insequentis temporalibus restitutus est. Inter eum vero et Joannem Serjeant (de quo supra) de jure abbatiae lis diu agitata est. Qua de re extat Bulla Bonifacii 9 ad Ri. 2 Regem in Joannis gratiam, data 5. Cal. Junii 1399. Caeterum non diu post (nescio an per mortem Joannis) Nicholaus in gratiam Pontificis receptus est. | | |
| Joannes Whiting ex Priore hujus Mon. abbas electus, eodem mense. praefuit annos circiter 11. | | |

Richardus Walsh successit 1431. (in marg. 1450).

Gulielmus praefuit 1456.

Richardus Forster (qui successit) autoritate Parlamentaria impetravit anno 1458. licentiam adjiciendi et acquirendi coenobio suo praedia 40. libras annuatim valentia. Obiit 6. kalend. Januarii. anno (ni fallor) 1476.

Joannes. praefuit annis 1478. & 1480.

Thomas Purcell 1483.

Joannes Purcell successit. Is sub initium anni 1485. peregrinationem Cantuariam ipse (?) suscepit ad visendum tumulum Thomae Becket: olim Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.

Walterus Walsh 1505. Obiit an. 1514.

Gulielmus Brent hujus coenobii Canonicus in abbatem electus temporalibus restitutus est 3 Octobris 1514.

Joannes Mey resignavit mense Julio 1522.

Thomas Holder confirmatus penultimo Julii 1522. obiit 12 Septembris 1526.

Jacobus Cottrell abbas electus 22. Novembris 1526 resignavit 1531.

Henricus Duff ultimus hujus coenobii Abbas.

AN OPENWORK CRUCIFIXION PLAQUE FROM CLONMACNOISE

By Máire MacDermott, *Member.*

A SERIES of openwork plaques representing the Crucifixion and variously referred to as paxes or book-mountings have long been numbered amongst the sacred objects of Irish Early Christian art. Four of these plaques are already well-known and have been described and illustrated in various publications. They comprise the famous 8th century mounting from Athlone¹ two 12th century unlocalised examples² in the National Museum and another 12th century plaque from Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.³ The present paper puts on record a further example acquired by the National Museum in 1935, and not hitherto published, which helps to bridge the chronological gap between the early Athlone plaque and the 12th century examples and which in itself forms a most attractive and well-preserved addition to the group. Beyond the fact that it is said to have been found near Clonmacnoise, no information is available as to the find circumstances.

The Clonmacnoise plaque (Pl. I) is made of bronze, hollow-cast, and like the other examples shows a Crucifixion scene, with attendant lance- and sponge-bearers executed in openwork manner. The group of figures is enclosed in a rectangular frame (7.3 cm. by 8 cm. externally); the remains of eight rivet-holes are to be seen in this frame in one of which the rivet is still present, presumably for attaching the mount to a wooden foundation. A pattern of lozenges divided by bars decorates the frame.

The representation of the crucified Christ depicts a bearded figure with open eyes, large outspread hands and feet turned away from one another. He is clothed in a long chasuble-like garment with long sleeves ornamented all over with foliage patterns. Two angels fill the angles above the arms of the cross which is completely hidden by the crucified figure, and under the arms stand the familiar figures of the lance-bearer and sponge-bearer. An unusual feature which does not appear on any other of these plaques is the presence of a small cross on either side of the figure of Christ, doubtless representing the crosses of the two thieves.⁴ Also unusual is the presence of the nails piercing Christ's hands.

¹ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*. Vol. 1, Dublin, 1932, Pl. 28.

² *ibid.*, Pl. 50:7 and 8.

³ *ibid.*, Pl. 29:11.

⁴ The two crucified thieves appear on a carved lintel at Maghera and on the Epistle of St. Paul at Würzburg (Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 183 for references).



(Photo—National Museum).
The Clonmacnoise Crucifixion Plaque ($\frac{3}{4}$).

The attendant figures of soldiers with spear and sponge⁵ are also clothed with long tunics ornamented with deeply cut hatching giving a rope-like effect. The two angels have trumpet-patterns on their wings. On all the figures, with the exception of the sponge-bearer there is an identical method of treating the hair—a series of vertical strokes coming down to a type of fillet across the brow. The sponge-bearer is shown in profile with long hair.

This treatment of the Crucifixion scene seems to belong to the earlier series of such representations in Irish art⁶ such as they appear on crosses, manuscripts and metalwork of the 8th and 9th centuries. The figure of Christ clothed in a long robe is found on only one other metalwork example—the famous Athlone plaque dated to the 8th century from the character of the ornament on the dress of the figures. The Clonmacnoise plaque resembles that from Athlone in the treatment of the hair, the type of garment worn, the treatment of the hands, but differs in other details. Similar representations occur in manuscript form in the Würzburg Epistle, the St. Gall Gospels where, however, the drapery is highly stylised⁷ and in the Durham Gospels where Christ appears to be bearded and the garment is also chasuble-like.⁸ All of these belong to the 8th century. Even more akin (especially in the matter of attendant figures) to the present representation are the Crucifixion scenes on the 9th century crosses of the granite group—at Moone, Castledermot, Ullard, Graiguenamanagh, St. Mullins.⁹ On these crosses we again see the parted feet, shown in profile, the very large hands and the long, loose-fitting garment of the mounting; the treatment of the hair in so far as it can be seen on the stiff granite medium is similar. The hair-style of the sponge-bearer on the plaque is paralleled by that of St. Joseph on a panel depicting the Flight into Egypt on the Moone cross.¹⁰

On the early 10th century carvings the Crucifixion representations changed character and the figure of Christ was represented nude in the manner of Carolingian ivories.¹¹ In the 11th century Christ is again represented in a long robe on the crosses but all the accompanying figures have disappeared, and on the crosses of the 12th century the short kilt or *perizonium* drapes the lower limbs.¹²

The closest analogy to our bronze mounting is, however, the remarkable carved crucifixion from the Calf of Man (Fig. 1). The moustache and forked beard of Christ on this carving, the long hair of the spear-bearer

⁵ In Irish art a cup on a rod replaces the traditional sponge as pointed out by Dom Gougau, "The Earliest Irish Representations of the Crucifixion", *J.R.S.A.I.*, 50 (1920), 136.

⁶ Dom Gougau, *op. cit.*, has treated the whole group.

⁷ *ibid.*, Pl. VII.

⁸ *ibid.*, Pl. VIII.

⁹ Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, Pls. 44, 45:2, 46, 48:2, 50:1 and 50:2.

¹⁰ Henry, *Irish Art*, Fig. 49.

¹¹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, p. 157 and references.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 161 for references to the later representations.

and the ornamentation of the garment of the latter are particularly similar to the Clonmacnoise casting. In some respects (for example the style of the drapery ornament) the Calf of Man Crucifixion is more like the Athlone plaque and must be fairly close to it in date and earlier than the present example.¹³

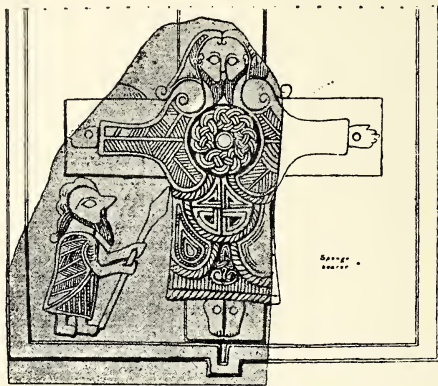


FIG. 1. *Calf of Man: Crucifixion.*

The other metal plaques mentioned above depict the figure of Christ, semi-nude, clad only in the *perizonium* characteristic of the 12th century representations. One of them, however,¹⁴ still maintains a good deal in common with our plaque (the forked beard of Christ, hair-style of the attendant figures and the lozenge pattern of the frame) but the unseeing eyes and bent arms of Christ and the difference in clothing proclaim a much later date. Nevertheless, the representations of this scene in metalwork alter very little from the 8th to the 12th century. There is no example extant on metalwork or manuscript of Christ represented nude as on the crosses and it is possible that the short-lived fashion of sculpture never penetrated to other media.

We have seen that the Clonmacnoise Crucifixion scene seems to fit in best with the earlier group, but let us now consider the foliage pattern on Christ's garment in an attempt to fix its date more precisely. Foliage

¹³ Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, p. 127 suggests a 9th century date for the carving and for the Athlone plaque. The latter is undoubtedly 8th century in date and the carving somewhat later, perhaps early 9th. This dating agrees with that

favoured by Talbot Rice (*English Art 871-1100*, Oxford, 1952, p. 104), who illustrates the piece.

¹⁴ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, Vol. 1, Pl. 50:7.

patterns are of rare occurrence in Irish Early Christian art and this type of pattern derived from the Carolingian acanthus is generally taken to indicate a late date, usually 11th century at earliest.¹⁵ In many cases such patterns are combined with the bifurcated lobed interlacing characteristic of the late Jellinge style and it is clear that their presence in Irish art is due to Scandinavian influence. There are, however, examples of pure tendril patterns akin to that on the plaque where the Scandinavian element is not apparent, some of which seem to be of earlier introduction. Such a pattern occurs on the mounting for a bell-shrine found in the River Bann at Aboghill, Co. Antrim.¹⁶ This shrine carries an inscription requesting a prayer for Maelbrigte for whom it was made and Margaret Stokes identifies the name with St. Maelbrigte of Aboghill who died in 954.¹⁷ The name is of common occurrence in the Irish church and this identification has not been universally accepted¹⁸ but the find-place of the bell-shrine adds considerable weight to the identification. Moreover, the Scandinavian-type tendril pattern already makes its appearance on the shrine of St. Mura's bell.¹⁹ The ornament on the latter has been dated by Shetelig to "before the middle of the 10th century" and compared by him with that on the Gaut cross at Kirk St. Michael on the Isle of Man.²⁰ The Bann fragment is certainly at least as early as this and stylistically would appear to antedate it.

An exceedingly close parallel to the foliage-pattern on the Clonmacnoise plaque is to be seen in a panel on the upper binding-strip of the Kells crozier in the British Museum.²¹ While the crozier is of several periods, the panel seems to fit in best with its first period, late 9th-early 10th century. A further point of comparison with the crozier is the lozenge ornament on the framework of the plaque which is repeated on the borders of the three shaft-knobs, but, as we have seen, the motif has a long life and has little value for dating.

Carolingian influence was making itself felt in Ireland during the 9th and 10th centuries in the iconography of the high crosses and it is not surprising to find the occasional use of the acanthus pattern appearing at a somewhat earlier date than usually believed. The transmission at this period is not through Scandinavia, but either direct, or perhaps, *via* Southern English art where similar borrowings are to be seen in the late 9th century Trewhiddle style. The tendril pattern on the Sittingbourne knife²² is merely a slightly more stylised version of the design under discussion here. On the Continent, pure tendril patterns such as this are

¹⁵ Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, London and Copenhagen 1924, p. 275 ff.

¹⁶ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, Vol. 1, Pl. 36:4a.

¹⁷ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 1887, p. 53.

¹⁸ *Christian Art* . . . p. 156. Brøndsted, however, accepts it, *op. cit.*, p. 276, footnote 1.

¹⁹ *Christian Art* . . . Pl. 81.

²⁰ "The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements", *Acta Archaeologica*, XIX (1948), 88.

²¹ *Christian Art* . . . , Pl. 71:2c Detailed publication of the crozier by the present writer is forthcoming in *Archaeologia*.

²² Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, Fig. 106.

to be seen on the 9th century Irish-influenced manuscripts of the School of Tours²³ side by side with interlaced ornament of decidedly insular character.

A case can thus be made for the arrival of acanthus patterns in Ireland in the early part of the 10th century but such patterns in themselves are capable of varied dating. Simple tendril patterns re-appear after the bifurcated type have died out. A fine example may be seen on the book-mounting from Holy Cross side by side with animal ornament in the Irish-Urnes style of the late 11th or 12th century²⁴; the plump curves of the foliage pattern there have more of a Romanesque character.

The extremely conservative style of the crucifixion scenes leads to the retention in the 12th century of elements already noted in the 8th and adds to the difficulty of dating on stylistic grounds. But in the later period the designs are stereotyped and drab in execution and although Crucifixions with long robes are known from some 11th century crosses, the whole feeling of the Clannacnoise mounting is opposed to so late a date. The sumptuously ornamented dress and well-executed detail which make this mounting the most charming of the series, as well as the comparisons noted above, all point to an earlier date. Since foliage patterns in the form represented here can, as we have shown above, occur in the early 10th century, such a dating (perhaps not long after 900 A.D.) intermediate between the barbaric vigour of the Athlone plaque and the later more pedestrian examples of the 12th century, is, in my opinion, most appropriate for the very interesting mounting dealt with here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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²³ For example Paris Latin 262, Berne 45, London Addit. 37518—all illustrated in Micheli, *L'Enluminure du Haut*

Moyen Ages et les influences irlandaises, Pls. 136, 137 and 138.

²⁴ *Christian Art* . . ., Pl. 50:1.

FISHERIES OF THE RIVER LIFFEY

II.—NOTES ON THE CORPORATION FISHERY FROM THE TIME OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

by A. E. J. Went, *Member.*

IN a previous contribution to the Journal (Vol. LXXXIII, pp. 163-73) an account was given of the Corporation fishery up to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. The Corporation of Dublin had, by that time, obtained a major interest in the fisheries of the Liffey, but the religious houses had limited rights. The dissolution brought many applicants for the possessions of the various abbeys in Dublin. The Dublin Corporation, for example, made application for the possessions of the abbey of All-Hallows in 1536, and accordingly, on the 4th February, 1539, it received the desired grant.¹

In 1557, on March 20, advice was given by the Crown that the Deputy was to receive £1,000 sterling by the hands of the Vice Treasurer and Receiver, over and above certain commodities including *inter alia* the fishing of Kilmainham.² Francis Agarde, on 30th September, 1565, petitioned the Privy Council for a lease of 41 years of possessions valued at £100, including the mills and weirs of Kilmainham.³ The petition was successful, for on 25th January, 1566, a lease was prepared on instructions of 20th October, 1565. By this lease Francis Agarde received *inter alia* "two mills by the bridge of Kilmagham on the river Liffie and these weirs of Kilmaynan on the same river above the bridge with the waters, water courses and fishings thereunto belonging" to hold for 40 years at a rent of £4 for the mills and £26 13s. 4d. for the weirs.⁴ In 1576, another grant, under the Queen's letter, dated 20th June, was made to the same man, why, it is not quite clear, of the same possessions,⁵ this time "in tail".

A year later the authorities of Holy Trinity again went to law before the Lord Chancellor to maintain their rights to the tithes of the fisheries of the Liffey. A number of fishermen of Clontarf and one of Malahide were brought before the court to recover tithes of herrings. The defence by the Malahide fisherman was that the usual custom in Ireland was to

¹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, i. 500 and *Pat. rolls. Henry VIII.* p. 15

² *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1515-74. p. 272.

³ *Cal. S. P. Ire.* 1509-73, p. 274.

⁴ *P. R. I. rep. D. K.*, xi. 117 (*Fiant Eliz.*, No. 803).

⁵ *P. R. I. rep. D. K.*, xii. 183 (*Fiant Eliz.*, No. 2586).

give one half of the tithes to the parish church where the fish were landed and the other half to the parish where the fishermen reside. The Lord Chancellor, on 23rd June, 1577, decreed in favour of the church authority.⁶

The Dublin Corporation, in 1585, was fully cognisant of the importance of preventing pollution of the Liffey, for on April 11th the Corporation enacted that,

as pigs unringed upon Hoggen Green are noisesome and hurtful to the same and forbidden by divers laws in this city and that swine coming on the strand hinder the increase of fish that Edward Peppard shall by the authority of this assembly pound any such swine coming on the strand (for which he has promised to make a special place) and withall shall be authorised to kill any swine upon the said green unringed and that he shall permit no one to put any flax into the ditches near his ground in All Hallows for avoiding hurt to the increase of fish for that it flows often to the said ditches.⁷

Flax water has been acknowledged as a potent destroyer of fish life and special precautions must be taken during flax retting operations to prevent its passage into rivers.

In 1611 (March 12), Sir Edward Fisher was granted "three small islands in the Liffey, on the west side of Kilmainham bridge, with the sole liberty of fishing with boats and nets in all the river Liffey, parcel of the estate of the late priory of St. John of Jerusalem at a rent of 10 shillings."⁸

Charles I, in 1641, granted to the Dublin Corporation the estates of the dissolved houses of All-Hallows and St. Thomas, which included fisheries.⁹ Before 1641, the estate granted to Sir Edward Fisher in 1611 passed into the hands of one Francis MacEvoy who, on account of his attainder consequent upon 1641, lost his estates.¹⁰

The Corporation, as we have already seen, used to lease its interest in the Liffey fishing to various persons and in 1655, one Eustace Hopkins had obtained a lease of the fishery, for, towards the end of that year he petitioned the Corporation for assistance. His petition is recorded in the Corporation's minutes as follows:—

Whereas likewise Eustace Hopkins petitioned to the said assembly that he, being tenant of the city for the fishing belonging to the same on the river Liffey, and being in his said holding was interrupted and hindered by the honourable the earle of Meath, his tenants against whom the petitioner commenced suite. in prosecution whereof he hath been at much expense of money in the behalf of this for the maintenance of the right thereof for the fishing on the said river besides loss of his time and therefore he humbly prayed this assembly to give him his said disbursements with such other consideration for his loss of time and hindrance by him sustained as shall be thought fit, it is therefore ordered and agreed upon by the said authority aforesaid that the Sheriffs of this city shall abate unto the petitioner fifty shillings out of the next rent he is to pay and that the said Sheriffs shall be allowed it upon their account.¹¹

⁶ *P. R. I. rep. D.K.*, xx, 120.

⁷ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, ii, 196.

⁸ *Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. Jas. I*, p. 220.

⁹ *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxi, 424.

¹⁰ John D'Alton, *The History of the County of Dublin*, 1838, p. 635.

¹¹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, iv, 83.

Apparently Hopkins was successful in maintaining the city's absolute right to the fishery. The origin of the dispute is, however, not obvious nor is it apparent as to what claim the Earl of Meath could have had to the fishing of the Liffey at the place in question. The point is now only of academic interest since it is clear that the city eventually obtained the whole of the rights of the salmon fishing below the Islandbridge weir.

After the Restoration the mills and fishing weir of Kilmainham were granted to Sir Maurice Eustace, but the Lord Lieutenant, who apparently had some prior claim, had evicted Sir Maurice in the Court of Claims. In a petition to the King in January 1669, Sir Maurice asked to be reinstated and prayed for a "grant by patent."¹² On 4th September, 1676, the Corporation answered the Lord Lieutenant regarding a petition of Henry Howard, stating that 460 years earlier John, by charter, had granted the city, *inter alia*, the River Liffey (i.e. the fishings thereof).¹³ At the end of the following year the Corporation again discussed the measures to be taken to protect their interests in the Liffey fisheries. It was then ordered and agreed upon by the assembly that,

seeing the fishing of salmon poole and within the city libertie, anciently belonged to the Sheriffs of this city and that the court of Admiralty of late pretend a right thereunto, the petitioners ask that the Sheriffs may be justified in their ancient rights as to the said fishing and said privileges may not be lost, it is ordered and agreed upon, that the Sheriffs, with advice of the Lord Mayor and recorder, doe take care to effect the citties right in the premises and that the same be done at the citties charge.¹⁴

This was only one of the many disputes concerning the fishing which arose in the next hundred years.

Details of another lease of the fisheries of the River Liffey are included in records of the proceedings of the Corporation for early in 1691, it was ordered that

Philip Croft, gentleman, shall have a lease of the fishing of the river Liffey and other rivulets and waters in the cities dispose, within the countie of the said citties with libertie to place stakes and poles for hanging and drying of nets in convenient places for 21 years next Michalmas at yearly rent of 14/- sterling He shall also pay a couple of salmon fish to the Lord Mayor and a couple to the Sheriff. at Easter, saving the right of giving of licence for dredging of oysters to the Lord Mayor of the city.¹⁵

This is the earliest mention of oyster fishing which was apparently well known. The right to grant licences to dredge for oysters was vested in the Lord Mayor for the time being.

¹² *Cal. S. P. Ire. 1666-1669*, p. 680.

¹³ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, v. 119.

¹⁴ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, v. 147.

¹⁵ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, v. 513.

On 20th of July, 1705, a lease was granted to one John Payne of the

Oyster bed of Poolbeg lying near Ringsend and within the liberties of the city, together with all the advantages, emoluments, benefits, and immunities thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining, for twenty-one years from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next ensuing, in consideration of 10s. in hand paid to the use of the poorhouse of the city, and an annual rent of £5.

Thus was the evidence produced in the High Court of Justice of Ireland (Exchequer Division) on June 15th, 1887, according to the printed report (pages 86-7) of the case of the Corporation of Dublin *versus* Tedcastle. (This printed report will be cited as *Special Report* 1887, in future references). There was apparently a covenant "within twelve months to replenish and furnish the oyster bed with sufficient quantity of oysters from Arklow and Glasgurrig" and to "keep it well stocked." The same report indicates that John Payne surrendered his lease ten years later.

Philip Croft, mentioned above, did not hold the lease for the full period of 21 years, as in 1706 he was greatly in arrears with his rent and the Corporation wisely decided to give his father-in-law, Nicholas Kemeys, a lease for the unexpired part and for a reversion thereafter at a yearly rent of "£3, payable half yearly and a couple of salmon, or ten shillings in lieu thereof, to the Lord Mayor for the time being and the same to the Sheriffs." The new lessee was to clear off arrears of rent and duties.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the Corporation decided to grant Kemeys the fishery of the Liffey (except angling). About this time angling was becoming popular and it will be necessary to say more about this later. In January, 1707, the Corporation Ordered the lease to Kemeys (Kemish) to be sealed¹⁷ but apparently this was not done until well after Easter of that year.¹⁸

From then onwards, but certainly by 1713, the Corporation had trouble with the owner of the manor of Clontarf. Several persons, but especially a man named Ridgeway, had encroached on the Corporation's fishery, justifying their actions by saying they had permission to fish from Mrs. Mary Vernon, then owner of Clontarf, who claimed, *inter alia*, a right to the fishery of part of the river, presumably opposite her lands. On 16th January, 1713, the Corporation made an order "that legal methods be taken to defend the city's rights."¹⁹ Further details of the claim of the Vernons of Clontarf will be given later.

Leave was given by the Dublin Corporation on 18th July, 1718, to Humphrey French to plant oysters on Crabb Lough, fisheries other than oysters being reserved.²⁰

At the assembly held on 17th January, 1729, the claims of Captain Vernon of Clontarf were clearly stated. They included the "strand of the

¹⁶ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, vi. 359.

¹⁹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, vi. 474-5.

¹⁷ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, vi. 363.

²⁰ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, vii. 66-7.

¹⁸ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, vi. 368.

Crab Lough and the strand which is now held and enjoyed under the city's title and also part of the fishery of Polebegg." The Recorder of Dublin was thereupon ordered to defend the city's title at the city's expense.²¹ Unfortunately, no record appears to be available as to the result of the action, if any, taken by the Recorder.

In 1738, the mills of Island Bridge, together with salmon weirs and fishery were advertised for sale.²² Whether they were sold or not is doubtful, but three years later a Mr. Jonathan Darby owned the mills and fishery and he was evidently willing to sell.²³ At that time the Corporation was searching for new supplies of water to meet the increasing demands of the city. The Committee appointed by the Corporation "for better supplying the city with pipe water" suggested on 14th August, 1741 that the

Corporation should treat with Mr. Darby about the purchase of Island Bridge Mills for £3,500 and believe that by setting the fishery and the benefit of raising sand will pay the rent due to the crown, being about £77 a year.²⁴

These premises were acquired by the Corporation for £3,500 from Jonathan Darby and his wife.²⁵ This was a wise move from the fishery viewpoint, since, with the development of the embankments along the Liffey, salmon fishing in the lower part of the river could only be carried on with difficulty. From this time onwards the Corporation owned the entire fishing downstream from the weirs associated with Island Bridge mills.

Immediately after acquiring the Island Bridge premises the Corporation set about letting the portions which were not needed by the city, namely, the mills, house, and rights of fishing and raising sand. Robert Anderson made certain proposals to the Corporation, namely, that he would take a lease of the premises for 21 years at a yearly rent of £150.²⁶ Anderson's was the only proposal received by the appropriate Committee of the Corporation, which recommended acceptance. On 25th March, 1745, a lease on the foregoing terms was executed and on 20th July, 1751, Richard Anderson, son of Robert Anderson, was granted a lease of the unexpired part of his father's lease.²⁷

According to *Pue's Occurrences*, on Thursday, 11th September, 1755, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, took the diversion of fishing in the river between Island Bridge and the old bridge.²⁸

The Anderson lease obviously ran its full term and in 1766, the appropriate Committee of the Corporation reported that the highest offer received for the premises at Island Bridge was one from Timothy Mahon, of a

²¹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, vii. 439

²² *The Dublin Newsletter*, ii. No. 129. March 1738 and subsequent issues.

²³ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, ix. 32.

²⁴ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, ix. 32.

²⁵ *Rep. and printed documents of the Corporation of Dublin*, 1911; ii, p. 627.

This Report will be referred to as *Report*. 1911.

²⁶ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, ix. 140, 149, 157-9.

²⁷ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, ix. 384.

²⁸ *R.S.A.I.Jn.*, xxiii. 89.

yearly rent of £400 for 21 years from 24th June, 1766, which offer was accepted.²⁹ In the following year the Sheriffs had seized several nets belonging to persons who had not the authority of the Corporation to fish on the Liffey. The Corporation was apprehensive that legal proceedings would be taken against the Sheriffs by the persons concerned and it was ordered that they should be defended at the Corporation's expense if any action ensued.³⁰

Timothy Mahon was subsequently allowed £400 because of "lasting improvements" effected by him.³¹ This lease did not, however, run its full course, for we find that on 22nd July, 1774, the Committee of the Corporation "appointed to let the fishery etc. at Island Bridge" reported that after having advertised in the newspapers it had decided to make a lease to James Mahon for 31 years from 24th June, at a rent of £340, Mr. T. Mahon, the existing tenant, paying the new tenant for the period from 24th June until 12th August.³² There is nothing to show why a new lease was necessary, but, as the *Report* states, "it was possibly by means of a surrender clause" in Timothy Mahon's lease. In the same year, on 12th August, the Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen ordered that the clause in James Mahon's lease "compelling him to defend the rights of the Corporation to the fishery, should be deleted." This clause was not mentioned in the advertisement but a clause was to be inserted preventing him "to do any act which abridge, cede, betray or lessen the right of the corporation to the said fishery."³³ This was a reasonable arrangement and James Mahon, on 19th January, 1776, prayed that "the suit relative to the fishery at Island Bridge may be carried on in the name of the city." It was ordered that the "petitioner be at liberty to use the city's name upon his paying off all rent due to the corporation and indemnifying the corporation for any expenses" incurred in connection therewith.³⁴ In other words, the city was not going to allow its name to be used by Mahon unless he paid up the arrears of rent.

Mahon was not a good tenant, for six years after he obtained the lease, a Committee met on 22nd June, 1780, to consider "the considerable arrears of rent due." This Committee apparently had before it an offer by James Mahon in the matter, but this was unacceptable to the Committee, which recommended that action be taken to recover the outstanding rent.³⁵ Early in 1783, Mahon was dispossessed of the property³⁶ and after an offer from Alderman James Horan was considered it was decided to put the premises up for auction.³⁷ Alderman Horan's offer of £200 per annum for three lives renewable for 70 years or 99 years, at the lessee's option, subject to £1,000 being spent on lasting improvements was accepted.³⁸ The

²⁹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xi. 336-8.

³⁰ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xi. 391-2.

³¹ *Report*, 1911, p. 628.

³² *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xii. 330-2 and *Report*, 1911, p. 628.

³³ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xii. 333-4.

³⁴ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xii. 399 and

Report, 1911, p. 628.

³⁵ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xiii. 130.

³⁶ *Report*, 1911, p. 629.

³⁷ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xiii. 295-6.

³⁸ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xiii. 318 and *Report*, 1911, p. 629.

improvements in question were almost certainly concerned with the mills and not the fishery. Horan's interest was subsequently acquired by Sir W. Worthington.

From then onwards followed a period of disputes which, however, did not reach the Courts. The leases to Horan and later Worthington, had apparently made no mention of the fishing further downstream in the Liffey and at Poolbeg. On 12th May, 1795, a committee submitted a report on the action it had taken to bring the matter to a final conclusion. Having asked Alderman Worthington and the Sheriffs to lay their claims before the Committee and having been fortified by the advice of the city Recorder and Baron George, the Committee expressed the view that neither Alderman Worthington nor his Sheriffs had any right to the fishery in question and recommended that this portion of the fishery should be leased.³⁹

On 22nd June, 1795, a lease of the Corporation's "rights to the fishery in the River Anna Liffey and Poolbeg from the bullstone near Island Bridge eastwards within the city's liberty, from the 25th of March last for three years at a yearly rent of £80 to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs over and above all taxes, two salmon each, or twenty shillings, according to ancient custom, at the election of the said Lord Mayor and Sheriffs" was made to one Issac Manders.⁴⁰ Manders did not have things all his own way, for on 23rd September, 1796, he prayed to be supported "in maintaining the city's right to the fishery of the river Liffey and Poolbeg" and it was ordered that the law agent be directed to support and ascertain the city's right to the fishery of the river Liffey and Poolbeg under the direction of Mr. Recorder.⁴¹ No doubt Sir William Worthington was one of the main objectors, since fishing seawards of his own fishery would do him considerable harm and in 17th May, 1797, the Corporation had before it a report to the effect that Sir William and Manders had agreed to refer "all matters in dispute between them" to the Recorder and the Solicitor-General.⁴² Whatever was the outcome of the discussions, Sir William Worthington's view did not prevail and the Corporation proceeded on 10th May, 1799, to lease to John Howard of

all their right to the fishery in Poolbeg within the city's liberty with the appurtenances, until the 1st of February next, at £60 over and above all taxes, and to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs two salmon each, or twenty shillings to each of them in lieu thereof, according to ancient custom at the election of the said Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.⁴³

There was also a covenant in the lease that the lessee should at all times permit Freemen of the city to fish for their own use. It is difficult to see how Howard could have prevented unauthorised persons from fishing at Poolbeg.

³⁹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xiv. 411.

⁴⁰ *Special Report* 1887, p. 87. The date given, 22nd June, 1790, is clearly an error for 22nd June, 1795, as will be

seen from *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xiv. 416.

⁴¹ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xiv. 482.

⁴² *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xv. 20.

⁴³ *Special Report*, 1887, p. 87.

By 1801, the Poolbeg fishery was advertised but before the fishing was let, Sir William Worthington appeared before the Committee to express his determination to oppose the letting thereof in court. The letting was postponed and the matter was dropped for the time being. Sir William Worthington, it was agreed, should have his costs of the previous "trial" and the verdict adverse to him should be set aside.⁴⁴

J. Archer, in his *Statistical Survey of the County of Dublin*, published in 1801, has a note regarding the fishing at Poolbeg as follows:—

There is also a considerable salmon fishery on the river Liffey, belonging to Sir Wm. Worthington where eighteen men are employed from the first of January to Michaelmas, it is divided into the upper and lower fisheries, viz. in the river six men and at Poolbeg, twelve. They catch, in the above time, from 90 to 200 each week, which average in the market to 16 or 18/-. This fishery extends from the weir at Island Bridge to the Lighthouse at Poolbeg.

This suggests that Worthington obtained the fishing at Poolbeg and early in 1802 on 6th March, he obtained a three year lease from 1st May, at a rent of £40 to the Corporation and £10 to the Sheriffs per annum.⁴⁵ When this lease expired one William Seaton obtained a lease of all the Corporation's "right to fishing in Poolbeg, within the city's liberty, excepting and reserving full and free for the citizens to fish in Poolbeg for their private use and pleasure, but not for sale" for three years from the 25th March, 1805, at a yearly rent of £22 15s. 0d.⁴⁶ No further leases were made of the fishery at Poolbeg, probably because of the increasing pollution of the river and thereafter the public fished without let or hindrance, as will be mentioned in greater detail later.

While Sir W. Worthington was alive many adverse rights were claimed and exercised by various persons. The Governor of the Royal Hospital, Kilmmainham, as successor of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, claimed rights over the whole extent of their lands as then in their possession (roughly from Island Bridge to Kingsbridge). This claim was settled by payment of a salmon per week to the Master. The weekly salmon was later commuted to £10 per year.⁴⁶ During the period 1809 to 1825, the fishing was exercised by a Mr. Green a fishmonger of William Street, Dublin, during which time the annual payment to the Royal Hospital was raised to £15.⁴⁵ Thomas Cromwell, in his *Excursions Through Ireland* (Dublin, 1820, i. 158-9), has an interesting note on the Island Bridge fishery as follows:—

There is a salmon fishery at Island Bridge, which is rented for £200 per annum and which during the year 1816 produced 1,762 fish weighing from five to 30 lbs. each. The salmon here taken are in greater esteem among the inhabitants of Dublin than those caught in other Irish rivers so universally prolific of the species, but this arises, probably, from their freshness alone, those brought from the Barrow, Suir and Shannon on the roofs of the mail coaches from Ross, Waterford and Cork, being considered by many to excel them in quality.

⁴⁴ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xv. 193-4.

⁴⁵ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xv. 247.

⁴⁶ *Report*, 1911, p. 630.

In 1825, the fishing at Island Bridge was surrendered to Sir. W. Worthington and Sir Hussey Vivian demanded increased rent, which was refused. Sir H. Vivian put a boat and net on to the river and fished for two years but apparently the cost of boat and nets was out of all proportion to the fish captured and he then accepted thereafter the old rent of £10. On 6th August, 1832, William Ingham of Clontarf, obtained a lease of "the oyster bed situate in the river Liffey opposite the Pigeon House."⁴⁷ This was apparently the last lease of the oyster fishery in this region.

Richard Worthington, successor to Sir W. Worthington, petitioned the Corporation on 15th April, 1831, for renewal of a life in place of that of George IV in the lease of premises at Island Bridge and the petition was granted and the names of Richard and Robert Manders were added.⁴⁸ In 1841, Robert Shaw Worthington, successor in title to Sir W. Worthington for the sum of £2,000 assigned the lease of the fishing to Messrs. Richard and Robert Manders. Messrs. Manders agreed to pay an annual rent of £50 3s. 1d. for the first three years and £78 3s. 1d. thereafter. This was the culminating point of considerable litigation as to the rights of Messrs. Manders in connection with water at Island Bridge.

R. W. Worthington was succeeded by Mr. R. Worthington and in 1877 he rented the fishery for £40 per year and he held it until 1884, when, with the death of Richard Benson Worthington, the surviving life of Horan's lease, the fishery returned to the Corporation.⁴⁹

From 1884 to 1890 the fishery at Island Bridge was let to Mr. R. Worthington, on a year to year basis, at a rent of £30 per annum and in 1891 at £60 to Mr. George Godden. In the year from October, 1892, Godden offered £60 and R. Worthington £102 which was accepted. In 1893, a lease was granted to R. Worthington of the fishery between the weir at Island Bridge and Bloody Bridge (the bridge now known as Watling Street Bridge), for 31 years subject to the following conditions:—

(1) Corporation to pay half the working expenses up to £78 8s. 0d. per annum.

(2) Lessee to furnish an accurate account of the number of fish captured and sold, and the net proceeds of the sales after deducting £78 8s. 0d. to be divided in the proportion of two-thirds to the Corporation and one-third to the lessee, subject to £60 per annum.

(3) Lessee to expend a sum of not less than £25 in each close season on preservation of fish, of which £16 13s. 4d. was to be recouped by the Corporation.

These conditions were subject to variation at the request of either party at the end of the first seven years and then at the end of each succeeding period of five years.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Special Report*, 1887, pp. 87-8.

⁴⁸ *Cal. anc. rec. Dublin*, xviii. 500.

⁴⁹ *Report*, 1911, pp. 631-2.

⁵⁰ *Report*, 1911, pp. 633-9.

It is not surprising that Worthington should ask for revision of this absurd lease in 1900. He claimed that the Corporation's contribution was inadequate and this was raised to £100 and the profits were to be divided equally. These terms remained in force until 1909, when Worthington again asked for further alteration. It was then thought that a minimum rent would be the best method of providing for the probability of an improvement in the fishing as a result of completion of the main drainage scheme for Dublin. It is clear that the Corporation had high hopes of an improvement in the state of the Liffey as a result of the drainage scheme, hopes which, it must be stated, have been realised to some extent.

In 1911, Worthington offered a rent of £120 for 31 years but the Committee of the Corporation dealing with the matter proposed as an alternative a lease for 31 years as from the 1st January, 1912, at a rent of £120 per year with a moiety of the net profits when over £300, subject to accredited accounts. Worthington was to provide dredgers and barges to dredge sand, the proceeds for sand to be treated as if they were for salmon for calculation of the profits. It is clear that the Corporation did not approve of the Committee's suggestion and, therefore, nothing was done about surrendering the old lease and Worthington paid £60 per annum and a moiety of the profits when they exceeded £120.⁵¹ Before the lease expired Worthington transferred his interest to one George Ryan.⁵² Ryan, in 1923, asked for a renewal of the lease and having carefully considered the matter the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Corporation came to the conclusion that a lease should be granted for £100 per annum to Mr. Ryan, the said lease to embody provisions for dealing with water rights at Island Bridge and, in addition, the tenant shall "make such provision as will ensure the free passage of water to and through the Fishing Pool," other conditions as to preservation of the fishery being retained. Finally, the Committee approved a lease to George Ryan from 1st February, 1924, at a rent of £100 per annum over and above the taxes, subject "to his keeping the premises demised in good repair and protecting the fishery from injurious poaching or trespass. In the meantime, before the Corporation would consider the proposal, other tenders had come in and on 19th November, 1923, the Corporation, suspending standing orders to do so, considered these tenders. Thomas O'Driscoll of 50 Watling Street, offered £120 per annum and the Salmon Anglers' Protection Association, Dublin District, 3 Inn's Quay, Dublin, offered £105 with the proposal that they only intended to net the river until expenses were paid in order "to save the river from extinction" as a salmon river, "leaving the remainder of the fish for angling." These offers were not accepted.⁵³ George Ryan, therefore, got his lease and sometime later he transferred it to the late Francis French Davis, of Salmon Pool House, Dublin. It is now held by the legal repre-

⁵¹ *Rep. and printed documents of the Corporation of Dublin*, 1912, i. pp. 105, 275-6.

Corporation of Dublin, 1923, ii. pp. 675-6.

⁵² *Rep. and printed documents of the*

Minutes of the Dublin Corporation, 1923, p. 437.

sentatives of late Francis French Davis. Three years after Ryan got his renewal he was involved in a lawsuit in the High Court and as a result of the proceedings a consent was filed in the records of the Court. This consent provided that Ryan would not use any gratings in the sluices of the weir, presumably for the purpose of preventing the free ascent of fish and, in addition, he could not fish from 6 p.m. on Wednesday to 6 a.m. on Thursday of every week.⁵⁴

Fishing by means of drift nets has been carried on in the outer part of the estuary of the Liffey since the Corporation gave up its claim to a several fishery there by persons who claim to fish under the common law right.

Thus ends the story of what might be called the Corporation fishery on the Liffey. Although the most important fishery on the Liffey was in the tidal waters, other important fisheries for net fishing existed in former times up the river from Chapelizod to above Leixlip. It is proposed now to say something of the records relating to these fisheries and then to trace the methods of fishing used in the River Liffey down the ages.

THE CHAPELIZOD FISHERY.

Only a few references occur relating to this fishery, which was the next upstream of the Corporation fishery. Soon after the Norman invasion Hugh de Lacy bestowed the lands of Chapelizod upon Hugh Tyrrel and later this grant was confirmed by Henry II. Eventually the Tyrrel family granted Chapelizod to the Hospital of Kilmainham.⁵⁵ The lands of Chapelizod had appurtenant fisheries which, as will be seen, were regarded of some importance in later years. During the reign of Henry III, Richard de Burgh caused an obstruction to be made in the Liffey at Chapelizod and the Lord Deputy, Maurice Fitzgerald, was ordered that "by view of good and discreet men who best know what the course used to be, he cause the water to flow as it ought, so that boats may have free ascent and descent."⁵⁶ A second mandate from the king was issued nearly nineteen years later, on 22nd May, 1251, to the Lord Deputy "to cause obstruction in the King's weir (gorges) of Chapelizod to be removed and to cause it to be open, as it used to be in the time of Stephen of Hereford."⁵⁷

Hugh, Bishop of Meath, accounted for the sum of £17 6s. 8d. "for the farm of the manor of Chapelizod, with the mill, fishery etc." in the Great Rolls of the Pipe for the fifty first year of Henry III's reign⁵⁸ and in the ninth and tenth years of the reign of Edward I, Henry de Graham and his wife accounted for the same premises.⁵⁹ The value of the fishery was returned by Hugh de Cruces, "custos of the manor of Chapel Isolde" at

⁵⁴ *High Court of Justice* 25/1/1927. Record No. 1925/4333.

⁵⁵ D'Alton, *History of Dublin*, op. cit., p. 544.

⁵⁶ *Cal. doc. Ire.* 1171-1251, p. 295.

⁵⁷ *Cal. doc. Ire.* 1171-1251, p. 467.

⁵⁸ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.* xxx. vl. 45.

⁵⁹ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.* xxxvi. 52.

68s. 2d.⁶⁰ The Hospital at Kilmainham was in possession of this manor and fisheries in 1288, for Brother William, prior of the Kilmainham house, accounted for the usual rent of £17 6s. 8d.

On 8th April, 1305, the Crown again dealt with the manor of Chapelizod "with all lands and tenements, mills, fisheries and pools etc. belonging thereto" and leased them to John de Selsby for six years.⁶¹ Subsequently, in 1380, the fishery of Chapelizod was granted to the Hospital of Kilmainham.⁶²

In 1524, Sir William Wyse of Waterford was granted, *inter alia*, a salmon weir in Chapelizod⁶³ and he was authorised by the Crown on 26th March, 1540, to alienate to Thomas Plunkett and Thomas Fian *inter alia*, a fishery and salmon weir in Chapelizod.⁶⁴

A lease under the Queen's letter, dated 16th April, 1574, was made on 8th July of the same year to Jasper Horsey of, *inter alia*, the "tithe fish etc. of the parish church of Chapel Izolde."⁶⁵

In the Civil Survey of 1654, the reference to the parish of Chapelizod was as follows:—"There is upon the premises one ffishing wear for Salmon upon the River Liffey worth five pounds p.ann. The Tythes Belonginge to the Chapel aforesayd."⁶⁶

There is no definite evidence where this salmon weir was situated at Chapelizod, but it was probably associated with the dam used for supplying water to the mills, almost certainly on or close to the site of the present milldam at Chapelizod. When this weir went out of commission is also unknown. Today the fishery is only used for angling and is in the hands of the owners of the adjacent land.

THE CASTLEKNOCK FISHERY.

Upstream of Chapelizod there was a fishery associated with the lands of Castleknock and Irishtown. The Priory of St. John the Baptist of Dublin was seized at the dissolution of *inter alia*, "a water-mill and a free fishery in the parts of the river adjoining the lands at Irishtown."⁶⁷

Sir George Stanley surrendered to the Crown the manor of Castleknock with a salmon weir in Castleknock and Irishtown on 2nd May, 1558⁶⁸ and before the end of that month he received a lease of half of the manor with a salmon weir.⁶⁹ These possessions were subsequently in the hands of one John Barnell, who, on his attainder, lost this estate and Luke Dillon, attorney general, was given a lease of this property on 20th August, 1568.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xxxvi. 53.

⁶¹ *Cal. doc. Ire.* 1302-7. p. 128-9.

⁶² F. E. Ball, *History of Dublin*, iv. 165.

⁶³ Ball, *op. cit.* p. 165.

⁶⁴ *Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. Hen. VII-Eliz.*, p. 123. *P.R.I. rep. D.K.* vii. 81. (*Fiant Henry VII*, No. 482).

⁶⁵ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xii. 124 (*Fiant Eliz.*, No. 2426).

⁶⁶ *Civil Survey*, vii. (1654) p. 223.

⁶⁷ D'Alton *op. cit.* p. 644.

⁶⁸ *Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. Hen. VII-Eliz.*, p. 381.

⁶⁹ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, ix. 82.

⁷⁰ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xi. 182. (*Fiant Eliz.*, No. 1223).

John Lye had a lease of the salmon weir of Castleknock on 21st February, 1592⁷¹ and on 26th February, 1613, one Philip Hoare was granted possessions including a water mill at Castleknock and a salmon weir on the Liffey near the mill, which possessions were forfeited by him 1641.⁷² Under the Act of Settlement, however, he received on 20th December, 1665, a grant of the possessions which he had forfeited in 1641, including the salmon weir.⁷³

As with Chapelizod weir, the exact date when the salmon weir went out of operation is unknown and the fishery is now only used for angling. It is clear, however, that the salmon weir was near the mill and was probably associated with the mill dam itself. This dam is almost certainly close to or on the site of the present mill dam at Castleknock, that is to say, the mill dam south of Glenmaroon.

LUTTRELLSTOWN FISHERY.

The Civil Survey of 1654 has a single reference to the fisheries belonging to Luttrellstown in the parish of Clonsilla. This was to a "fishing weare for salmond on ye River Liffey."⁷⁴ When this weir went out of existence it is not possible to say. In recent years the fishery in this region has only been used for angling purposes.

LUCAN FISHERY.

Late in the 13th century we find a record of the fishery of Lucan. This is in the form of an "Assise of novel disseisin." Rob. de Hansted and his wife, John de Hansted and his wife and Roger Smalyrs and Thomas Brekespere dispossessed Hugh de la Felde and his wife of their freehold in Lucan, including, *inter alia*, a third of the fishery of the water of Lucan from the ford of Lutral to the ford of Athbo. The defendants said that one Robert de Wyleby and his wife were in possession of this part of the fishery and by way of rejoinder the plaintiffs said Robert and his wife had no interest in the fishery. The outcome of the case was that the Court found for the plaintiffs.⁷⁵

A few years later, in 1306, John Honsted, or Hansteyd, and his wife came into possession of Lucan and they were again involved in litigation, this time with the owner of Leixlip, Ralph Pippard. Hansted and his wife sought to obtain possession of one moiety of the fishing of the Liffey between the land of Lucan on one hand and that of Leixlip on the other. The jury found that the:

⁷¹ E. O'Leary "John Lye of Clonaugh, Co. Kildare, III." *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, iii. 48.

⁷² *Cal. pat. rolls. Ire. James I.*, p. 245 and *D'Alton op. cit.*, p. 559.

⁷³ *Ir. rec. comm. rep.* xv. 67.

⁷⁴ *Civil Survey*, vii. 230-1.

⁷⁵ *Cal. justic. rolls. Ire.* 1295-1303. pp. 222-3.

fish taken between the land of Lyuecan and land of Salmon Leap were never accustomed to be divided between the Lords of those towns but each of the Lords was accustomed to have his fishing to the middle (as medietation) of the water, in places where the river of Aneliffy separates their lands from each other on opposite sides, so that the Lord of Lyuecan had fish taken towards his land and Ralph towards his land and they were accustomed to fish with engines or nets.⁷⁶

At the same time the jury was ordered to investigate another matter. The King's writ stated :—

The King has learned that certain men of Kildare and Dublin have a new constructed and raised weirs and other engines in the water of Anelyf and much narrowed the course of water, so that boats with things for sale and other things cannot come by that water to the city of Dublin or firewood or fish pass through those weirs and engines as hitherto accustomed. And they raised other impediments in prejudice of the King and deterioration of the fishery and loss to the citizens of the King's city and of others of those parts. Wogan (the justiciary) is to go to the weirs and inspect the impediments and having enquired of the truth, to cause the impediments to be removed and duly amended, so that one with firewood and boats wishing to come to the city may securely pass without impediment and that fish may come to the King's weirs, as in past time they were accustomed to do.⁷⁶

The decision of the jury is, perhaps, best quoted in extenso as follows :

They say that Roger Smalris, bailiff of John de Hansted of Lyuecan recently constructed anew a weir in said water and narrowed the course of the water there. But they say that the weir is of no value, but Roger is sorry that he made it, for he fears that the expense upon its construction will not be allowed him, for his lord can have no profit from it. They say also that the weirs of Kilmaynan, Chapel Isolde, Palmerston, Lyuecan and St. Katherine are raised, and the water in them much narrowed in prejudice of the King, and deterioration of his weirs and fishery. Because they say that in those weirs the course of the water was accustomed to be of the breadth of 16 feet at least, with sufficient depth for the passage of boats, bundles of firewood (busca ca colligata) and fish.

The Sheriff was ordered to abate the newly raised weir at Lucan and to reduce the other weirs to their usual height. "Roger Smalris, bailiff of John de Hansted" was the man who was involved in the case a few years earlier (1299), about the Lucan fishery. In May, 1315, John de Hansted granted and quit-claimed to Robert de Notingham, *inter alia*, the fishery appurtenant to the manor of Lucan⁷⁷ and eight years later, in the *Great Rolls of the Pipe of the Irish Exchequer*, Walter de la Pulle accounts for the fisheries of the manor of Lucan.⁷⁸

These few documents indicate clearly that the fishery of Lucan in the fourteenth century was exceedingly valuable. In recent years it has only been used for angling.

⁷⁶ *Cal. justic. rolls. Ire. 1305-1307.*, pp. 257-9 and *Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.* p. 535.

⁷⁷ *Ormond Deeds. 1172-1350*, p. 201.

⁷⁸ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xliii. 59.

THE LEIXLIP FISHERY.

The waterfall at Leixlip was known to Giraldus Cambrensis, who came to Ireland with John in 1185.⁷⁹ It afforded an excellent place at which salmon could be taken by means of nets and therefore, it is not surprising that a fishery existed here for a considerable time. The name, *Leixlip*, Scandinavian for *Salmon Leap*, indicates that the Scandinavian invaders of Ireland were fully aware of its potentialities. William Piro, Bishop of Glendalough (1192-1212) granted, *inter alia*, the tithes of this fishery to St. Thomas Abbey, Dublin, so that the fishing must have been of considerable importance.⁸⁰

On 27th May, 1207, King John granted to Adam de Hereford, *inter alia*, "all the salmon fishery of the Salmon Leap" and shortly after, William, Earl Marshal, granted the same property to the same man.⁸¹ By the beginning of the 14th century the manor of Leixlip and its fisheries had come into the hands of one, Ralph Pippard, as we have seen already in connection with the Lucan fishery. This was the man who successfully resisted the claim of his neighbours at Lucan to a moiety of the fish taken in the part of the Liffey where their lands ran on opposite sides of the river. In 1304, the manor of Leixlip came into the King's hands and John Gifford, receiver for the Crown, accounted for the fishery at 68 shillings per annum, a very large sum for that day.⁸² In the year 1333, the manor of Leixlip etc., with its apputtenant fisheries, was committed to one John de Grauntsete for ten years.⁸³

The rental book of Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, for the year 1518, refers to the salmon weir at Leixlip.⁸⁴ On 2nd November, 1562, Elizabeth granted to William Vernon, the site of the manor of Leixlip and, *inter alia*, "a mill on Anilyphia, a salmon weir and two fishing places, called the salmon leape"⁸⁵ and on 18th January, 1570, Sir Nicholas White obtained the same property.⁸⁶ Just over five years later, on 12th September, 1575, Nicholas White was granted the same property.⁸⁷ This fishery remained in the family and according to Lord Walter Fitzgerald, The Civil Survey of 1654 included a statement of the existence of the "Salmon Leape neare unto the Castle belonging to Sir Nycholas White."⁸⁸

⁷⁹ Giraldi Cambrensis *Topographia et Expugnatio Hibernica*. Ed. James F. Dimock, London, 1867, p. 127.

⁸⁰ *Reg. St. Thomas*, Dublin, p. 290.

⁸¹ *Ormond Deeds*, 1172-1350, pp. 13, 19.

⁸² *P.R.I. rep. D.K.* xxxviii. 86.

⁸³ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.* lviii. 64.

⁸⁴ *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, viii. 30.

⁸⁵ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xi. 80.

⁸⁶ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.* xi. 234. See also Lord Fred. Fitzgerald. "Leixlip Castle" *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, ii. 397.

⁸⁷ *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xii. 160.

⁸⁸ Lord Fred. Fitzgerald "The Castles at Leixlip" *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, iii. 491.

THE CASTLETOWN-KILDROGHT FISHERY.

The only references to this fishery are those for the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries in the County Kildare Chancery Inquisitions. The Manor of Castletown consisted, according to the Inquisition of, *inter alia*, a fish weir on the *Anne-Liffey* in Castletown of Kildroght.⁸⁹ A fuller description is given in the later Inquisition as follows: "A weir with two openings for taking fish on the Analiffey."⁹⁰ We have no knowledge of when this weir, with its two cribs or boxes, went out of existence. Certainly it has not been used for over a century.

METHODS OF FISHING ON THE RIVER LIFFEY.

Apart from the question of the ownership of the fisheries, one can follow in detail, from the historical records, etc., the methods of fishing adopted down the centuries on the River Liffey.

NETTING.

The abbey of St. Mary's obtained, in the twelfth century, a grant of the right of having "a boat on the water of Avon Liffy, for fishing and other religious houses in the neighbourhood of Dublin obtained similar grants." These boats were obviously for use in conjunction with a draft or haul net, that is to say, a net used for surrounding fish and making a haul on to a shore.⁹¹ Many hauling places were obviously used, not only in the tidal waters of the Liffey, but also in the freshwater portion of the river. From the twelfth century until today such draftnets have been used for the capture of salmon and probably other fish in the River Liffey.

An obstruction in the course of a river, such as that which formerly existed on the Liffey at Leixlip, called for many centuries the Salmon Leap, afforded an excellent opportunity for the capture of salmon there, for, except at certain stages of water level, the fish would not ascend the falls. No doubt, this was partly the reason why the Leixlip fishery was so important.

In topographical prints of Dublin there are a number of interesting prints which illustrate this method of fishing. The earliest of these prints is one by J. Fisher, published in Dublin in 1780 by A. Robertson, showing two netting crews operating near Poolbeg Lighthouse.⁹² A similar scene

⁸⁹ Lord Walter Fitzgerald "Castletown and its owners" *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.* ii. 369.

⁹⁰ Lord Walter Fitzgerald "The Dongan family etc." *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.* iv. 68 and *County Kildare Chancery Inquis.* No. 7 of James I and No. 15 of Charles I.

⁹¹ Arthur E. J. Went "The Galway Fishery" *R.I.A. Proc.* XLIX. C. 5. 1944. p. 204-6.

⁹² R. M. Elmes *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints etc.*, 1943. p. 38. 413. See also Went, 1951, "Fishing scenes from Irish topographical prints." *R.S.A.I. Jn.* lxxxi. p. 157 and Plate xxxi.

is illustrated in three other works, published in the years 1831, 1833 and 1842, respectively.⁹³

The draft net is, of course, normally operated as a moving net, but apparently in the year 1251, the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and his men by force of arms destroyed the ancient fixed net at the bridge of Dublin owned by the city of Dublin. We have no other information about this fixed net, which apparently intercepted the fish moving up (and possibly down) the Liffey.

Another form of net, the drift net, a single wall of mesh of suitable size, has been used in the mouth of the Liffey for a considerable time. Salmon are captured by meshing themselves in the net. When drift-net fishing started is not known but the first reference I have been able to find to drift-nets is for the year 1892.⁹⁴

FISHING WEIRS.

The fishing weir belongs to the barrier type of fishing engine and is a stationary structure which depends for its catching power on obstructing a current of water or of concentrating fish into a small area, from which they have difficulty in escaping, where they can be taken by hand or by means of a small net, a spear or a gaff. In rivers the fishing weir consists of an obstruction partially or wholly across the river, constructed in such a manner as to trap fish in one or more of its parts. The early weirs were made of hurdles and wattle. They were, therefore, flimsy, semi-permanent in character and no doubt were washed away periodically. There were, therefore, considerable numbers of salmon which escaped capture and the stocks thereby maintained.

The first weir in the River Liffey was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Island Bridge and it may have been on the site of the mill river now supplying the mills there. Hore, in a contribution to an early volume of the *Journal* stated that Kilmainham "in propinquity to Inchicore, i.e. the island of the weir (a trap in which many a good salmon has been taken while on its ascent to "saltu salmoni" or Leixlip) was a favourite seat of the Vikings."⁹⁵ The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham had the salmon weir in the vicinity of Island Bridge and at the dissolution it was described as "A weir on the river with 4 'hachis' for catching salmon."⁹⁶ The "hachis" were boxes or traps, i.e. the places in which were concentrated.

⁹³ *Dublin delineated*, Dublin, 1831; G. N. Wright, *Ireland illustrated*, London, 1833, p. 13. and J. S. Coyne and N. P. Willis, *The scenery and antiquities of Ireland*, London, 1842, p. 152 and Went *op. cit.* p. 158 and Plate xxxi.

⁹⁴ *Report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries on the sea and inland fisheries of Ireland*, Dublin, 1893, p. 86.

⁹⁵ H. F. Hore "The Scandinavians in Leinster" *R.S.A.I. Jn.* iv. 443.

⁹⁶ *Ir. mon. extents*, p. 82.

This weir at Island Bridge was in use until the middle of the eighteenth century, but when it went into disuse is not known. Apart from the weir at Island Bridge there were salmon weirs near Chapelizod (p. 51), Castleknock (p. 52), Lutrellstown (p. 53), Leixlip (p. 55) and Castletown-Kildroght (p. 56).

The form of the trap or box is shown in diagrammatic form in Fig. 1. Salmon running upstream meet the conveying walls of the so-called inscales. They pass upstream, through the gap between the adjacent upstream ends of the inscales, into the trap or box. A grating, called a heck, bars their further passage and although theoretically they can leave the trap they seldom do. If the water is diverted from the end of the trap the fish then can be readily taken out with a landing net.

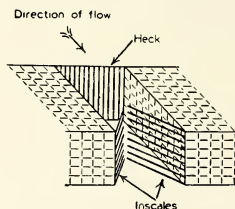


Fig. 1.

ANGLING.

Despite Mahaffy's very definite statement that fishing with rod and line was not carried on in Georgian times (1714-1839),⁹⁷ angling was practised on the Liffey before that day, as in 1706 the Corporation leased the fishing of the Liffey excluding the angling.

A large number of prints of Dublin show anglers engaged in fishing. Perhaps the best of all these prints is that drawn by J. Tudor and published in Dublin in 1753⁹⁸ and several other works illustrated similar scenes.⁹⁹ The Salmon Leap at Leixlip was a popular place for angling before the Leixlip hydro-electric plant was erected in recent years. As mentioned earlier, salmon travelling upstream often remained below the falls for long periods. Anne Plumptre, in her interesting account of Ireland, published in 1817,¹⁰⁰ has a print of the falls at Leixlip in which two anglers are shown fishing and Denis Sullivan has a similar print.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ "Society in Georgian Dublin" *Georgian Soc. Jn.* iii 46.

⁹⁸ Elmes *Catalogue, op. cit.* p. 28, No. 303. Went, *op. cit.*, p. 156, and Plate xxix.

⁹⁹ Elmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 43, 61. Nos. 327, 472, 662, L. Ritchie, *Ireland pictur-*

esque and romantic, London, 1836, p. 14, and Mr. & Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Ireland*, London 1841, ii. 303.

¹⁰⁰ Anne Plumptre, *Narrative of a residence in Ireland*, London, 1817, p. 75.

¹⁰¹ D. Sullivan, *A picturesque tour through Ireland*, London, 1824, Plate 19.

FURTHER NOTES ON MAKING WOODEN SIEVES

By A. T. Lucas, *Hon. Gen. Secretary.*

THE following is contributed as an addendum to the account of making wooden sieves at Kitchenstown, Co. Dublin, which appeared in the *Journal* vol. 81 (1951), pp. 146-155. Since it was published the writer has had an opportunity of studying the technique of another traditional sieve-maker, Patrick Sweeney of Brownsgrrove, Rahogarty, Tuam, Co. Galway. His father (Patrick), grandfather (Patrick) and great-grandfather carried on the trade of sieve-making before him and he thinks it very likely that the craft was practised in his family for longer even than that.

In the construction of the sieves and the manner of lacing them his method is exactly the same as that used by Hamilton of Kitchenstown, described in the former article, but his preparation of the materials shows some interesting differences of technique.

As compared with Hamilton's five, he makes only two kinds of sieves: a winnowing sieve, which he calls a "riddle," and an article of finer mesh for which he reserves the term "sieve." He uses ash exclusively, whereas Hamilton uses a split briar for the band.¹ The lacing strips, which Hamilton calls *twigs*, Sweeney calls *splits* in the case of his sieve and *laths* in the case of his riddle, while what is termed the *anchoring band* in the description of Hamilton's sieves is by Sweeney called the *back split*. His terms for the other parts are the same as Hamilton's.

Examples of Sweeney's sieves and raw materials in various stages of preparation were obtained for the National Museum where they are registered under F1953:38-44 and a film record of his method of working was made.

The "riddle" or winnowing sieve which he made for the Museum (Reg. No. F1953:39) is identical with Hamilton's "barn riddle" and was used for a similar purpose.² The flail-threshed corn was shaken through it over a sheet in the open air on a windy day. The grain fell on to the sheet, the chaff was blown to some distance clear of it while the pieces of straw were retained in the sieve. The Museum specimen is 51 cm. in diameter with a rim 7 cm. high and 5 mm. thick. The band is a strip of ash 1.5 cm. wide and is sewn to the rim by flexible strips of the same wood which pass through holes bored in the rim with a pointed knife about 2 cm. above its

¹ *J.R.S.A.I.* 81 (1951), p. 149, fig. 1.

² *loc. cit.*, pl. xxvii.

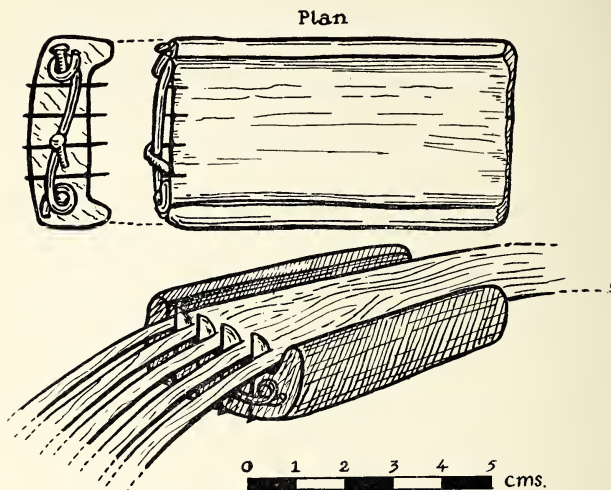


FIG. 1. Gauge for making "splits", Rahogarty, Co. Galway.

lower edge. These holes are 17 in number, rectangular in shape, 10 mm. by 5 mm., and each is rapidly made by four oblique insertions of the knife point. The overlapping ends of the rim are sewn together, two of the stitches holding the band serving to secure them at the bottom, while near the top two special stitches passing across their upper edges complete the fastening. In the Kitchenstown sieves these overlaps are nailed; a lapse from the traditional technique. The lacing strips or *laths* are woven over and under each other alternately to form a mesh of about 10 mm. by 13 mm. They average 13 mm. in width and their edges are bevelled off on the upper side by means of a knife made from an old open razor from the edge of which curved segments of a suitable width have been removed and secondary edges sharpened on the gaps (Fig. 2, C). Sweeney's term for this bevelling is *backing*.

The "sieve" made by Sweeney, on the other hand, differs in some respects from Hamilton's "oat riddle," to which it corresponds. It was used for sieving oats to clean it from dirt and weed seeds. The Museum specimen (Reg. No. F1953:38) is 50 cm. in diameter with a rim 9 cm. high. The lacing strips or *splits* are woven in twill, in which it resembles

Hamilton's "meal sieve."³ The *splits* are about 5 mm. wide and spaced to leave a mesh approximately 2 mm. by 3 mm.

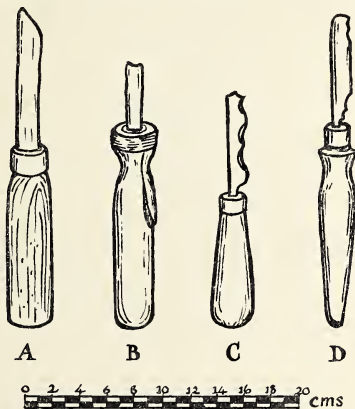


FIG. 2. Sieve-making tools, Kitchenstown, Co. Dublin.

Hamilton's *twigs* are almost the full thickness of the layer of summer growth of the timber and are rounded on their upper surfaces; Sweeney's *splits* are very thin, being only half the thickness of the summer growth, and are flat on both faces.

The first stage in their preparation follows the method described in the article on the Kitchenstown sieves. A length of ash 70 cm. long, 2.5 cm. thick and about 3 cm. wide is beaten with a heavy hammer along both edges, an old iron weight serving as an anvil. The loosened layers of summer growth are then split off from each other and the strips so obtained dressed on both faces by drawing them smartly under a sharp knife held edge down upon them on the knee, which is protected by a pad of sacking. Hamilton, having started with a much narrower length of wood than Sweeney's, uses the strips for lacing at this stage after rounding off their upper faces with the gapped knife. Sweeney, on the other hand, splits each of his strips again, obtaining two strips of the same width but only half the thickness of the original strip. To do this he folds back a short length of the end of the strip over his finger and makes a careful nick across the width of the tense strip to about half its depth. By inserting the blade of the knife obliquely into this nick in the direction of the far end of the strip and levering up the wood he detaches the first few centimetres of a second

³ *loc. cit.*, p. 149, fig. 2 & pl. xxviii.

strip. To avoid confusion in the description of the next stage of the process the original strip is referred to as the "main strip" (*Fig. 3, a*) and the strip just started from the nick as the "secondary strip" (*Fig. 3, b*).

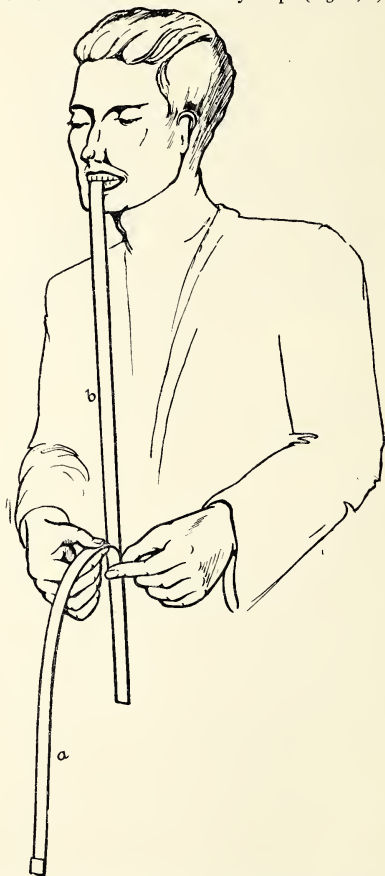


FIG. 3. *Splitting lacing strip, Rahogarty, Co. Galway.*

The operator then grips the end of the secondary strip between his teeth and with the index finger and thumb of his left hand holds the main strip just below the point where the secondary strip parts from it. He next grasps the main strip between the thumb and index finger of his right hand just above its parting with the secondary strip and begins the process of splitting the whole strip by bending the main strip outwards and away from him, keeping the finger and thumb of the left hand running down the strip immediately in front of the parting. By this latter action he at once keeps the secondary strip taut, controls the rate of splitting and ensures an even parting of the main strip across its full width without any tendency to tear down one side more quickly than the other. It will be understood that, as the split runs down the strip, a point is soon reached where the operator's arms are extended to their utmost and beyond which he can no longer control the splitting nor hold the secondary strip taut between his left hand and his teeth. Since it is essential that the tautness of the secondary strip be maintained throughout the operation the problem is solved in the following way. As soon as the splitting commences the operator begins to lean backwards thus drawing the far end of the strip nearer to his hands. As the splitting proceeds farther down the strip he throws his head backwards, too, until, by the time the whole strip has been split, his head is thrown back as far as it can go and his arms are at full stretch.

Although tedious to describe, the whole process is performed very quickly, the slowest part being the nicking and prising up of the first small portion of the secondary strip. It is an excellent example of the traditional craftsman's skill and of his knowledge of the possibilities of his raw material. Although Sweeney normally contents himself with splitting each strip in half it is possible for an experienced man to obtain three or even four such strips from a single layer of the summer growth.

Having prepared a supply of these strips, which are about 2.5 cm. wide, the next step is to reduce them to *splits* about 5 mm. wide. To effect this Sweeney uses a tool which he calls a *gauge* (Fig. 1). It consists of a small rectangular block of wood 7 cm. long, 4 cm. wide and 1.7 cm. thick from the upper surface of which a portion 2.7 cm. wide and 5 mm. deep has been removed for its whole length leaving a flange 5 mm. high and 5 mm. thick projecting on each side. Across one end of the gauge four small steel blades, each a right-angled triangle in shape, are inserted in the wood, their sloping edges sharpened and faced inwards. The blades are set 5 mm. apart, are sunk in the wood for its full depth and project above it about 5 mm. They are kept in place by a short length of wire stretched across the end of the block and secured by having each end coiled around the head of a small nail. The blades are fashioned from bits of the main-spring of a clock.

When using the tool the operator holds it in his left hand, places one of the wide strips lying longitudinally between the flanges, which act as guides for it, with the end of the strip lying upon the tips of the blades and

projecting a few cms. beyond them. He then grasps the gauge so that the palm rests on the flanges and keeps the strip in place between them. With his right hand he holds the projecting end of the strip, pulls it down so that the points of the blades are forced up through it and then draws the remainder of the strip through the gauge, the blades of which cut it up into five equal strips or *splits*. These are then ready for lacing the sieve.

Sweeney no longer practises his craft; mechanical threshing has done away with the need for his sieves and riddles, but it is interesting to note that they were still in fairly general use in the district up to twenty years ago. His family, in former days, made meal sieves also but they had gone out of use before his time and he never saw any of them.

Since the former article was published the Museum, in addition to the Rahogarty specimens, has acquired two further sieves. One (Reg. No. F1952:130) is, unfortunately, rather imperfect and was presented by Mr. J. R. Wade of Carrowmore, Aghrim, Co. Galway. It is 43 cm. in diameter and 8 cm. high. The lacing strips, 5 mm. wide, are woven in twill and spaced to leave a mesh of about 2 mm. by 4 mm. It is similar in every detail to Sweeney's oat sieve described above. Curiously enough it was made by another Sweeney about the year 1918. Mr. Wade states that the Sweeneys were a family of sieve and basket makers who were established in Aghrim "since at least the 18th century." Another family of the same name in the town were nailers and chainmakers.

The second (Reg. No. F1951:157) is a winnowing sieve in perfect preservation, 48.5 cm. in diameter, 8 cm. high, with lacing strips 1.2 cm. wide in plain weave, spaced to leave a mesh about 1.5 cm. by 1.5 cm., and having their upper surfaces slightly rounded. The technique by which it is made is the same as that of the other sieves described here. It was presented by Mr. Anthony Vesey of Corlis, Lisolway, Co. Roscommon, through the good offices of Mr. J. J. O'Donnell of Castle Plunkett, Co. Roscommon.

This opportunity is taken to illustrate the special tools used in the making of the Kitchenstown sieves. These were not available when the former article was being written but have since been very kindly presented to the Museum by Mr. Hamilton (*Fig. 2*).

- A. A tool used to prise apart the band and rim to allow the insertion of the ends of the strips in the process of lacing the sieve. The blade is made of part of an old flat file cut off obliquely to form a blunt point. Length 23.3 cm.: blade 11 cm. long, 2.1 cm. wide.
- B. Knife used to clean off the coarse wood of the spring growth from the lacing strips after the annual layers have been detached from each other. It consists of part of the blade of a disused open razor mounted on a haft. Length 19.5 cm.: blade 4.9 cm. long, 1.1 cm. wide.

- C. Knife used for rounding the upper surfaces of the lacing strips. Consists of the blade of a disused open razor mounted on a haft. From the edge curved segments have been removed and secondary edges sharpened on the gaps which are of different widths to suit the various kinds of strips to be dressed. Sweeney of Rahogarty uses a similar tool to round the *laths* of his riddle. Length 17.4 cm.: blade 8 cm. long, 1.6 cm. wide.
- D. Another knife, similar to C, which has a number of moulding gaps for rounding the lacing strips but also a section of the original edge left intact, which can be used, like B, for cleaning them. It is thus a dual purpose tool. Length 23.3 cm.: blade 8.5 cm. long, 1.5 cm. wide.

Finally, there are illustrated two sieve-making tools presented to the Museum by Mr. John Gibson, cooper, Dungummin, Mount Nugent, Co. Cavan.

One (Reg. No. F1948:67) is a rectangular block of wood 18.5 cm. long, 5.5 cm. wide and 3.5 cm. thick (*Fig. 4*). In the centre of the upper surface are set two segments of a file, each sharpened to a cutting edge on one side and with these edges converging towards each other. The cutting edges are 1.5 cm. and the back edges 2 cm. apart. One piece is 2 cm. high, the other 1.2 cm. and both are 2.5 cm. wide. It was used for reducing the

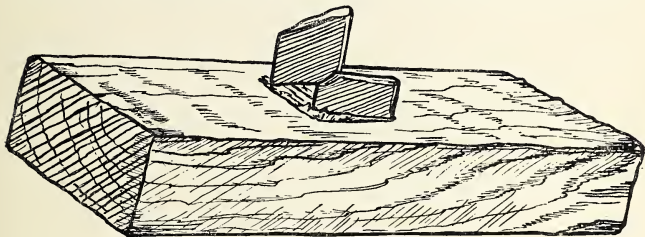


FIG. 4. Sieve-making tool, Dungummin, Co. Cavan.

lacing strips for wooden sieves to a uniform width. The strips were drawn along the block between and towards the cutting edges which trimmed them to a standard width. There were originally, in the Gibson workshop, a series of similar tools with the blades set at different distances apart to form strips of various widths for different patterns of sieves but this was the only specimen remaining.

The other tool (Reg. No. F1948:66) is a knife for rounding the upper surfaces of lacing strips (*Fig. 5*). It is generally similar to that from Kitchenstown (*Fig. 2, C*), but the blade is made from an old flat file in one

side of which four curved hollows have been formed and sharpened. It is 27.5 cm. long, the blade being 12 cm. long and 1.8 cm. wide.



FIG. 5. *Rounding knife, Dungummin, Co. Cavan.*

Mr. Gibson's family, who have been coopers for at least five generations, also carried on the trade of sieve-making, and his father was an expert at the work. He made four kinds of sieves:—

Barn Riddle: of inch mesh and used for taking short straws out of flail-threshed corn.

Oat Riddle: of five-eighths inch mesh and used for separating chaff from threshed oats.

Range: of three-eighths inch mesh and used to separate the best grain from inferior stuff; the good sort being reserved for seed.

Sieve: of one-eighth inch mesh and used for cleaning spurry seeds from oats.

With regard to the Irish names for these sieves, Sweeney, who is an Irish speaker, uses the word *roilleán* for his "riddle" and *criathar* for his "sieve" and from the following citations from the records of the Irish Folklore Commission it will be seen that these applications of the words seem to have been fairly standard, the former being used in the case of winnowing riddles, the latter in the case of sieves of finer mesh.

In 1938 an informant, aged 80 years, in the parish of Kiltomas, Co. Galway, mentioned that a sieve-maker (*criathradóir*) formerly lived in the

townland of Castledaly and went on to state:— “Bhíodh ceann dúbalta—criathar dúbalta—aige le h-aghaidh an mhin-choirce a chriatharú a’s chriathruigheadh sé an-mhín. Ba le h-aghaidh an choirce a chriatharú an roilleán.”⁴

At Cornamona, parish of Cong, Co. Galway, a roilleán was used for riddling oats which had been beaten out of the sheaf on a stone. It is stated to have had a mesh of about one inch square and to have cleaned the pieces of straw out of the grain.⁵

In Glengowla, parish of Kilcummin, Co. Galway, in 1938, an informant aged 60 years, described the roilleán as being used for taking bits of straw out of flail-threshed corn.⁶

According to an informant, aged 73 years in 1937, one of the uses formerly made of the criathar in the parish of Tuosist, Co. Kerry, was to take the “shells” out of quern-ground oats,⁷ while the following passage recorded in 1935 in Snave, parish of Kilmocomoge, Co. Cork, from an informant aged 93 years, details the uses of both criathar and roilleán:—Oats and wheat were always sieved before sowing. “Bhíodh criathar agus rithleán ag gach aoinne. D’adhmaid a bhídís sin déanta. Chun an tsalachair mhóir a bhaint as an rithleán. Bhaineadh an criathar na síolta beaga suaracha as an arbhar chómh maith le salachar de gach saghas.”⁸

In addition to the persons mentioned in the course of these notes, whose courtesy and kindness made the compilation of the information possible, the writer wishes to express his sincere thanks to the Hon. Director and staff of the Irish Folklore Commission, and to Dr. T. B. Costello, Tuam, Co. Galway, who first drew his attention to the Rahogarty sieve-maker, Patrick Sweeney, and who kindly undertook all the preliminary arrangements for obtaining specimens of his handiwork and recording his methods.

⁴ Irish Folklore Commission. MS. 537, pp. 217-218.

⁵ Irish Folklore Commission. MS. 363, pp. 26-28.

⁶ Irish Folklore Commission. MS. 527, p. 433.

⁷ Irish Folklore Commission. MS. 319, p. 124.

⁸ Irish Folklore Commission. MS. 203, p. 226.

NOTE.

It is with great regret that I record that John Hamilton died at his home at Kitchenstown, Co. Dublin, on April 2, 1954.

A GAELIC ARMORY

By A. Mac Lochlainn, M.A.

THE technical terms of blazonry appear so seldom in Irish language tracts that it is felt that the publication of the following will not be without interest. Although the author's attempts at rendering into Irish the conventionalized terminology of Anglo-Norman heraldry cannot be held uniformly successful, they are at least an advance on the fanciful descriptions of coats of arms to be found in Irish romantic tales.

The valiant translator of *Eachtra Mhelóra* gives the following "blazon": *sgiath go ndealbhaid leómhan agus gríobh n-eingeach, agus beathach n-examhail oile . . .* The same writer gives the following introduction to heraldry, which is not so bad, at that . . . *oir is leis an ionar do bhíodh air uachtar an éididh an uair sin, dá ngoirthaoi cót éidigh, do haitheantaídh na ridireadh an uair sin, do bhrigh go mbídís a bhfolach ó bhun go bathais acht amháin a ndá shúil agus a mbéal agus a srón . . .*

In *Toruigheacht Gruaidhe Griansholus* we find a helmet described as . . . *cathbarr . . . i n-a raibhe dealbh an iomad mbeathach n-égsamhail n-uathmhíhar . . .*

Our present author's *thrí treafoyles slipt argent* (see *Meadhachadh*, below) can by no standards be called a happy Gaelic version of *three trefoils slipped argent*, but at least he was attempting to describe real achievements of arms.

The scribe, and I think it can be safely said, the author of the tract was Dermot O'Connor, the translator of Keating. He belonged to the group of genealogists which at the beginning of the eighteenth century stood somewhere between the Gaelic and the English traditions in their field of work. Roger O'Ferrall, author of *Linea Antiqua*, Aodh Buidhe Mac Cuirtín, Charles Lynegar, and others should be mentioned as members of the same "school." Crosley, in his work on heraldry, published about 1725, acknowledges the help given him by some of these bi-lingual workers.

The text has not been edited for philologists, but for those with the mild interest in heraldry which most antiquarians profess. The only liberties taken, however, have been with respect to capitalization, punctuation and paragraphing.

The tract occupies pp. 112-113 of Cashel Library Ms. 4729, a volume, written about 1714, by O'Connor, containing historical and genealogical tracts. Early in the nineteenth century a lengthy description of the contents

of the volume was prefixed to it by Edward O'Reilly, the well-known lexicographer. This transcript is here presented with the kind permission of the Very Rev. R. Wyse Jackson, Dean of Cashel. The manuscript is now in the custody of the Representative Church Body of the Church of Ireland.

My thanks are due to Miss Mary P. Read who first brought the piece to my attention.

SUATHANAIS.

MAGH CARTHADH MÓR: Fiadh dearg air sodar a machaire airgid. *Creast*—Lámh a fasgadh airce lúachra sa tar anairde, agus mar *chúmhdach* da aingiol.

Ó DONCHADHA AN GHLEANA: Da mhachtire a troid, agus priacan dubh os a ccionn. *Creast*—Lámh an eideadh le cloidheamh agus naithair neimhe casta air an gcloidheamh.

O DONABHAIN: Lámh agus cloidheamh agus naithair casta air an gcloidheamh. *Creast*—Fainleog na seasamh air chlogad.

O CUILLÉIN .i. O Cuillin: Leoghan dubh air a bhonn a marcaire airgid; 3 seamrogadh. *Creast*—Murdhuach a ciorradh cinn.

O CEALLACHAIN: Machtire a teacht amach a coill. *Creast*—Lámh ón ngualainn le cloidhimh is le naithair neimhe.

O DOHERTA: Carfhiadh currant a machaire bhan agus tri muilleadeadha thuas. *Creast*—Lámh agus cloidheamh a.

O DOMHNAILL IARLADH ANTRUIM: 2 leoghan a coshamh lamha; 2 muillead thuas agus ceann a mbeas. *Creast*—Tarbh.

MAGUIBHIR: Marcach an eidigh air each bhan; macaire uaithne. *Creast*—Lámh eidighthe agus cloidheamh. *Motto*—Justicia et fortitudo invincibiles sunt.

O RUAIRC: 2 leoghan rais dubh a machaire ordha, callach san mbeas, agus cat air a crobh an uachter cle chuinne an mhachaire. *Creast*—Lámh agus cloidheamh as croinn suas.

MAC GHREADA, .i. Galdons [sic]: Gyrony 8, 2 sa. agus 2 dubh agus 2 uaithne agus 4 ban le ermins. *Creast*—Seabhac ar tunnadh ordha, agus scep. na laighair deis sa sgiathain ag osguilt.

O MIADHACHAIN: Leath-leoghan dearg, air ch. dubh, da cheann carfhiadh thuas. *Creast*—Ceann gribhe.

MAC SGEOLAIN: Leoghan buidhe air a chosaint a ngorm, fa ch. dearg, 2 mhuillead thuas. *Creast*—Crobh leoghain le geagadh dairuidhe glas.

O FLANAGAIN: Leoghan dearg a machaire airgid.

MAC SEANLAOICH: Leath leoghain dubh air bhuidhe a leath bheas, san leath oile ban le hermin, fa ch. bhan er. le tri realta ordha an uaithne. *Creast*—Lámh armtha le cloidheamh briste an lann dful. *Motto*—Pro patria et religione.

- O DUINUIN: Leoghan or air a chosaint air ghorm. *Creast*—Lamh armtha le rulla pars. air na thabhairt do le Domhnall Roe Magh Carthadh righ Deasmhumhan, le dha cheann carfhiadh air gach taoibh don laimh; tug an chead Righ Seamus peann ordha dhoibh an ionad an phar; gidh taid na cinn air marthuint.
- MAGOGORTI: Ancoire gorm agus dolphin casta air. *Creast*—Seabhac or.
- O CURNINN: Leath leoghain dubh a machaire airgid, air ch. dearg fui sin er. *Creast*—Sagitarium.
- MAC GIOLDA: Fiadh dearg na sheasamh le crann glas uir a mban, le dha leath rae thuas or a ngorm.
- BIATACH: Leath leoghain cuthach dearg air ch. dubh beas callach gorm. *Creast*—Lamh agus saoid or.
- O HANLUAIN: Ar uaithne capall ban er. *Creast*—Leath cuthaigh leoghain deirg a congmhail meirge gorm.
- O MORAIN: Seabhach ar ch. bhan er. an uaithne. *Creast*—Leath leoghain or agus geagan dairuidhe lan da thorradh na crobh etc.
- O CONCUBHAR CHIARRUIDHE: An uaithne leogan cuthach or agus croinn ordha air a cheann. *Creast*—Lamh eidighthe agus cloidheamh curtata. *Motto*—Satis est propositis leoni magnanimos.
- MEADHACHADH: Ch. dearg armen idir thri treafoyles slipt argent. *Creast*—Fiollar re dha cheann a tuirliocan ar rabhe da dhath.
- HAYES: Leoghan dearg na sheasamh ar bhan os cionn ch. dubh fui sin leoghan cuthach ordha air ghorm. *Creast*—Lamh is bratach dhearg.
- BEAGHAN: 3 ceann gribhe ordha ar uaithne, agus leath rae ordha. *Creast*—Da dhaigear a gclodag.
- MAC GUARAIN: Leoghan dearg na sheasamh le coronet air ghorm, 3 leath rae thuas. *Creast*—Cean machaire.
- BALPH: Tri seabhaic or na sheasamh air ch. dubh ar ghorm, leath leoghan ordha air cuthach san chreast, beas leath dearg agus leath oile ban le ermin.
- O HIONNRACHTAIC: Gribh orth air ghorm, creast dolphinn agus flor-de-luces thuas agus asp san bas. *Creast*—Lamh a fagadh ar asp.
- MAC TOMINN: Ch. ban le ermin agus le 3 cacin rois ann agus da leath rae thuas, leath leoghan ban san beas; ostrige san chreast le brainchi glas na gob.
- O CIONUIDHE SAN MUMHAN: Leoghan cuthach dubh a machaire bhan le ermin. *Creast*—Lamh agus roll pars.
- INSIDUINEACH: Feart gule le ermins dubh. *Creast*—Cocatrice.
- O MAININN: Gribh orth air uaithne, 3 rae thuas. *Creast*—Lamh agus cros.
- O CARBUIL: Cloidheamh lan dful go drochlen, is 2 leoghan deargadh suas ar gach taoibh. *Creast*—Seabhac air stumpa croinn.
- MAC BHIRN: 3 lamha gorma. *Creast*—Murdhuach.

suathantais

hazeyth moir fias teag g roeg a macs qsd cneart la apoz
 qe luacpa saty anje. Azur m q cndae da Amsiel
 O Doncho an gleana to moctipe o thoro 7 placan dub oy a
 ceon. C. la an eit le clordia 7 naitj neime capta q an
 celordy - Otonabaw la - clordia 7 naitj capta q. mac
 C. ranteoz na pcpa q clordy O - Cuillein. O cuillein leag
 dub q abon anje qsd 3 deampiozad C. qnyduae acioyi cin
 O Aallacain moctipe atear amaé a coll. C. la on - nquar
 le clod n le naitj neite O Dohepto copipiad cuypne
 a maqde bay 7 tpi quillede tuar. C. la 7 clordian
 O Domnall qd Antpim. 2 leag a copnd lania. 2 milled tar
 azur ceon ambar. C. tapb. qazibip qyeat an eitj
 q eac ban maqde rante. C. la eitj te 7 clordia mo
 Justicia offoctudine Jurincelle sunt. O Ruje 2 leag
 naitj dub a maqde opz. Callac ran tpar azur cat q a qrob an
 naitj. C. la eime an maqde C. la 7 clordia ap cpiam suar
 an spicada 7 spateozs tpyonys. 2. la 7 2 dub. 7 2 rante
 7. 4 ban le eimms C. Seabac q tuad opda, 7 dcep. na
 lura deir na psciam as ofpale
 O mteacain leat leag deag q ch. dub. da cin cypiad tuar.
 C. ean spibe. qe Seacain leag brete a copme anjeon
 C. ch. te 7 quillede tuar. C. B. epob leag le deag tpyre
 O flanagan leag deag amaqde rante qsd qit sean
 lura. C. leag dub q brede alae kyp ranlet oile ban le hermin
 po ch ban ep. le tpi pscia opda an rante. C. la an op da
 le clordia bpte an lura opda qito popyozia et Religione
 1202. O tpyonys a leag op. q a copme q goit C. la pta le nulla
 pqr q na tabe do le tem pte qaz eyth le puz deapmuan
 le da cin cypiad q dae t. oib don lap. tus an cead puz
 Seamur pte opda dub an ionad an pape. 318 tar na cin
 q mtean - puzozon. Amoye tpy 7 delpin capta q
 C. Seabac op. O Cuypim leat leag orb a maqde rante
 q. ch. de na sin ep. C. Seacain. qe Seacain. qe Seacain
 de na pscia le cpiam glar n. abon le da leat pte tuar
 op. anjeon - bntae leat deag cué deag q ch. dub bay
 callac deon C. la 7 rante op. O hanlraim q rante
 capad ban ep. C. la deat curk leag deag aconginal qse.
 Jonm. O popyan Seabac a ch. ban ep. an rante. C. la leat
 leag op. 7 Seagan tpyre lan ta tonyad na epob -

O Concubay eiqide an var ne leog cuth on auzay cnom opita
 q' a ceann ep. la eirighe auzay clowda capata mollo sans del
 prodigiosa leoni magnanimes - Me d'at ch d's aipmen itep t'm
 t'pna Kyle's slipt aps' c' piolla ne da e'n atrophocan an nabs
 da d'at - Hayes leog d's na p'ap' q'ban op'cien ch'ub ex: in
 leog cuth opita q' som. ep. la' ir b'iatat d's - B'agban z' e'n
 f'be, opda q' var'ne, 7 leat na opda ep. da t'auz' a'aleg'
 q'it' f'auptam leog d's na p'ap' le coponer q' som. 3 leat na
 tuay ep. cean q'at'pne, baloh, t'm p'ebat ep. na p'ap' an
 ch'ub q' som leat leog opda q' cut' p'm ep. b'ap' leat d's auz
 leat ale ban le ep'mm - O h'io'p'at'pne, f'ub op' q' som. ep. p'e
 p'ak'it'. auz. 3 p'op'elucer tuay 7 app' p'm bar ep. la' op'ag'
 an app: q'it' f'om' ch'ban le ep'mm 7 le 3' e'acam p'op' an auz
 da leat p'o tuay. leat leog ban p'm b'ap. d's p'p' p'm ep. le
 b'p'at'ic glay na f'ob, d' e'ion'ne p'm p'm leog cut' tub a'p'ac'a
 ban le ep'mm. ep. la' 7 noll p'p'. m'it'ne p'e f'ule le ep'mm
 tub ep. cocat'pne. d' m'ann' f'ub op' q' var'ne 3' p'o tuay. ep.
 la' 7 ep'ap: O Cybol cl'at' lan t'p'el f'o t'el'at' ir 2 leog d's p'ap'
 op' p'at' t'at' ep. f'ebat q' f'ampa e'm. q'it' b'p'm 3' la' f'om'
 ep. m'p'at'ic. O p'ne'q' 2 leog op'it' op'p'at'. cong'bal cl'at' d's
 ep. f'ebat le d'p'at'am op'p'at' mollo an f'ebat op' e'at'at'. d'ne'it'
 da leog d's. ~~cong'bal t'at'at' d's q'at'ic q'it' ep. la' p'p' p'e~~
 h'et'at'at' leog ban q' d's 7 t'm e'n t'p'uchon. - p'e d'at' g'at'
 na t'at'at' leog som a'at'ic' p'ollat'
 O h'ic'it' d'p'mat' leog f'ep'p'at' at. q' at' ep'ap' d's tuay
 deay p'om' tub ep. f'ylula. mollo confidens in d'omino non
 movetur - Veru' d'o f'at'at'. d'le'ma man' d'at'at' d'at'at' d'at'at'
 cl'at'h'ic'at'at' sunt monumenta d'omus: ap'at' ale leog d's le
 ep'ap' b'ent' f'ule f'able le ep'mm. ep. la' 7 t'p'uchon na f'ep'p'at'
 O f'p'p'at'. q' var'ne leog cut' opda en er t'at' 7 t'at'at' coponer
 ep. e'le lam d's q' elog'at' l'up'at': O d'iam 3' e'n t'p'ub' q' ch
 f'ep' tuay f'om' p'e b'ic'at' e'at'at' var'ne, ep. cean f'be op. p'ag'h'
 f'ebat leog d's q'ban. 3' la' t'at' 2 tuay p'at' an p'p'at'
 O dom leog d's cuth q' som
 O tubat' f'cl'at'at' f'iet' f'ule q' ban en cl'at'at' p'ap' mollo f'p'oc
 onco ul columbra. O B'p'at'at' 2 leog cuth op. op' var'ne, t'm
 cl'at'at' ep'ap'at' d'at' ep. la' d'at'at' auz cl'at'at' q'it' b'p'at'at'
 la' acc'it'ne na f'ine le na p'at' q' d'at' ep. ch'ep'at'at' le f'at'
 op'at'at'. - q'at' e'at' 2 p'at' d's q'ban. d' f'ebat'at'at'. da leog
 onz cong'mat' tam no f'ep'at'at' d's q' var'ne ep. lam auz p'at'

- O MEACHAIR: 2 leoghan ordha opposit congbhail cloidheamh dearg.
Creast—Seabhac le sgiathain osguilte. *Motto*—An seabhac os eanaibh.
- O NEILL: Da leoghan dearg congbhail lamha deirgi a machaire airgid.
Creast—Lamh armtha is cloidheamh.
- MAC NAMARA: Leoghan ban air dhearg agus tri cinn truinchion.
- MAC MATHGHAMHNA TUADHMHAN: Leoghan gorm a machaire fholladh.
- O HÍCIDHE: Armorial leoghan sergeant az. ar az. cros dearg thuas deas roint dubh. *Creast*—Scytula. *Motto*—Confidens in domino non movetur.—Versa leo stans stemma manu dextra scytala crux clanhickaeorum sunt monumenta domus. Armas oile: Leoghan sargeant le cros bend sable le ermin. *Creast*—Lamh agus trunchion no scepter.
- O FARGUILL: Air uaithne leoghan cuthach ordha. *Creast*—Cu dubh agus diucal coronet. *Creast eile*—Lamh dhearg air chlogad luptha.
- O RIAN: 3 ceann gribhe ar ch. ghorm thuas gorm se bileogadh cuillin uaithne. *Creast*—Cean gribhe or.
- MAGH GEOCHADHAIN: Leoghan dearg air bhan agus tri lamha dearga 2 thuas is ceann an iochtar.
- O DOMHNALL: Leoghan dearg cuthach ar ghorm.
- O DUBHA: 5 clumhair sield gule air bhan. *Creast*—Clumhar passant. *Motto*—Inocence ut columba.
- O BRAONAIN: 2 Leoghan chuthach or ar dearg, tri cloidheimhe crosda . . . [drochlan?]. *Creast*—Lamh eidighthe agus cloidheamh.
- MAC BRADIGH: Lamh a gcoimhne na greine le na soilsi ar dhubh. *Creast*—Cheraphen le sgiathain osgailte.
- MAGH CARTHADH: 2 fhiadh dearg ar ban.
- O SEACHNUSADH: Da leoghan orth congmhail tuir no caisleain airgid uaithne. *Creast*—Lamh agus sleagh.

To serve as a basis for comparison, the following examples of Gaelic blazonry are given in a more precise modern canon. Each example is followed by the equivalent English blazon, and by a reference to the entry in the foregoing tract with which it should be compared.

Ar airgead, dhá leon na gcoilg-sheasamh trodach, ar thaca eatorru deasóg glan-ghearrtha ag caol na láimhe den dath deireannach. (Argent, two lions rampant combatant gules, supporting a dexter hand couped at the wrist of the last.) *cf. O'Neill sup.*

Ar airgead, carrfhiadh na shain-rith uaithne, ar sciath-bharr den dath deireannach, trí muilleíd den gcéad dath. (Argent, a buck at full speed, on a chief vert three mullets of the first.) *cf. O'Doherty sup.*

Ar uaithne, dhá sionnach na gcoilg-sheasamh trodach airgid, ar sciath-bharr den dath deireannach fiolar ar eitilt dubh. (Vert, two foxes rampant combatant argent, on a chief of the last an eagle volant sable.) *cf. O'Donchadha an Ghleana sup.*

Ar uaithne, ar thulach dualdaite sa bhun, torc síúlach airmin. (Vert, on a mount in base proper a boar passant ermine.) *cf. O hAnluain sup.*

THE GRANT TO WALTER DE RIDELESFORD OF BRIEN AND THE LAND OF THE SONS OF TURCHIL

By Liam Price, Past-President.

DR. BROOKS, in his valuable paper on "The de Ridelesfords" in the *Journal* for 1951 and 1952, deals with the various lands which were granted to Walter de Ridelesford immediately after the conquest of Leinster. In 1173 Strongbow, as the king's deputy, made a grant to him of various lands south of Dublin; the charter begins with a grant of Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil, so that he shall have the fee of five knights in those lands, if it is there, and if not, what is lacking is to be provided in the vicinity on the one side or the other of the water of Brien. Dr. Brooks accepts that Brien means the Irish territory which was called Ui Briuin Cualann, and that the land of the sons of Turchil means the lands which those Norsemen held in Ui Briuin Cualann.

What were the lands that were meant to be included in the description "Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil"? This is not clear; nor is it easy to say what de Ridelesford acquired under this part of the grant.

The description was certainly not intended to include either the whole of the ancient Irish territory of Ui Briuin Cualann, or the whole of the lands which were held there by members of the MacTorcaill family. I would suggest that the intention of the charter of 1173 was to make a grant of the land which was then actually in the occupation of the remnant of the sept of Ui Briuin Cualann, and the land in their former territory which members of the MacTorcaill family had taken and still held in possession at that time.

The Ui Briuin appear to have occupied the coastal district south of the river Liffey at a very early date, perhaps before 500 A.D., and to have gradually extended their territory further to the south. At one period or another Deilginis (Dalkey), Senchill (Rathmichael), Tulach na n-Epscop (Tully), Glenn Munire (Glenmunder, Ballyman), Dun Brea (which is probably Bray¹) and Teach Conaill (near Powerscourt) are named as being in Ui Briuin Cualann; so was Dergne Mogoroc (Delgany), according to an entry in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1021.

Of these places Walter de Ridelesford certainly held Bray, where he built a castle; we may assume that it was part of the land which the charter calls Brien.

¹ See *Eigse: A Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. IV, part ii (1943), p. 147.

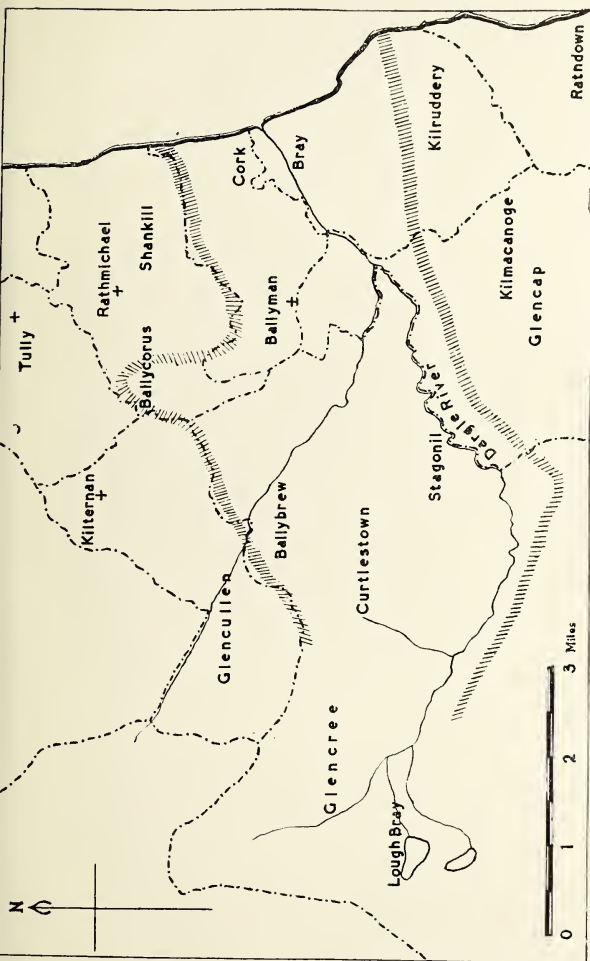


FIG. 1. Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil.

The hatched line shows the suggested boundary.
Parish boundaries — — — — —

(Based on the Ordnance Survey by permission of the Minister for Finance).

We can also identify a place which must have formed part of the land of the sons of Turchil. It is the townland called Curtlestown, west of Powerscourt; old spellings of this name show that it represents some such original form as *baile mhic Thorcaill*. We also know from the deeds which Dr. Brooks cites from the Register of St. Thomas's Abbey and the Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey that the de Ridelesfords owned a place called Ballibedan; part of this can be identified with the townland of Ballybrew, two miles north-west of Curtlestown, and it seems likely that it also was part of the land of the sons of Turchil. Both these places adjoin Glencullen.

We know, however, that some of the places in Ui Briuin Cualann which are named above were not included in the grant to de Ridelesford. At the time of the Norman invasion Shankill and Rathmichael already belonged to the Archbishop of Dublin. Similarly Tully, which had been part of Ui Briuin Cualann, but which became the property of some of the MacTorcaill family, had been granted by them to Christ Church, Dublin. I suggest that this shows us the northern boundary of the five knights' fees which the charter calls Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil.

As to Kiltarnan, which adjoins Tully on the west, our earliest information is contained in grants made to St. Mary's Abbey; it appears to have been given to the Abbey by Raymond le Gros, who probably died about 1189²; it does not seem ever to have been de Ridelesford property. These grants also deal with Glencullen, which is in Kiltarnan parish. Land on the boundary of Glencullen, granted by de Ridelesford to Richard de Cogan, was given by de Cogan to St. Thomas's Abbey, and disputes arose about the boundaries, which were settled by St. Mary's renouncing all claim to Ballibedan, and St. Thomas's undertaking to make no claim to Glencullen.³ This dispute about boundaries suggests that de Ridelesford may have claimed that the grant of Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil included Glencullen or some part of it.

Glencree in the thirteenth century was a royal forest. It may have been part of Ui Briuin territory in 1173. It is not certain how far de Ridelesford's grant was intended to extend. Curtlestown seems to have been on the edge of the forest.

Glencap, that is, the Kilmacanoge district, was not the territory of Ui Briuin Cualann, but of a sept from whom the land which was formed into the king's manor of Othee got its name. It would seem, therefore, that the grant of Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil cannot have been meant to include much of the country south of the Dargle river. On the south it does not seem to have extended far beyond Bray. Delgany was apparently in Ui Briuin Cualann, but in the thirteenth century the manor of Rathdown, which included all Delgany parish, was held from the king by John, son of Dermot; he was the grandson of Domhnall MacGiollamocholmog, who had been overlord of Ui Briuin Cualann at the

² Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, ii 42, iii 151.

³ Chart. St. Mary's, i, pp. 35, 36, 106-109, 111, 389.

time of the Norman invasion. John's father, Dermot, also owned Kilruddery. This district was at the southern end of MacGiollamocholmog's territory, and it seems probable that it was held in the ruling family's own possession before the arrival of the Normans.

The map shows what I would conjecture to have been the five knights' fees called Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil which were intended to be given to Walter de Ridelesford by the grant of 1173. Within it some small areas of church lands already belonged to the Archbishop of Dublin or the Bishop of Glendalough, such as Stagonil (Teach Conaill).

There is, however, a difficulty about the identification of Brien with Ui Briuin Cualann. Mills, as Dr. Brooks points out on page 119, said that Brien represents Bray, and he identified Ui Briuin with Obrun, the name which is constantly used in the thirteenth century for the district which lies inland to the west of Bray.

This name Obrun certainly represents the Irish Ui Briuin (Cualann). It was the name of a royal manor which extended from Ballycorus in Rath-michael parish to Powerscourt and beyond; but it did not include Bray. On the other hand, the territory called Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil did include Bray. This apparently led Mills to believe that Brien could not have been the same as Ui Briuin.

An explanation of this is given by Canon Scott in his *Stones of Bray*. Walter de Ridelesford's charter of 1173 was confirmed between 1185 and 1189 by Prince John, Lord of Ireland. John's charter differs considerably from the earlier one. It begins with a grant of Bren, to wit, two carucates of land. Dr. Brooks treats this as being the same as Brien, that is, Ui Briuin Cualann. According to Scott, however, Bren in John's charter represented Bray.⁴ His view was that Brien in the earlier charter stood for Ui Briuin Cualann, and included Bray and extensive lands in the neighbourhood, but that all that de Ridelesford actually got possession of was four carucates at Bray and some ten carucates more, part of which was near Glencullen. (This is, of course, a much smaller area than that which I have shown on the map for the five knights' fees.) Obrun, Scott says, was the name given to the residue of the Ui Briuin territory, "which was kept in the king's hands after Sir Walter's grant had been limited."

In stating that the grant of 1173 was "limited," Scott is following Mills, who says that by the early part of the thirteenth century the crown had resumed the district westward from Bray. There is no record to this effect, however; it is a conclusion which Mills draws because it appears that Obrun included lands which had been given to de Ridelesford by the charter of 1173.

The earliest mention of the king's manor of Obrun is in a Pipe Roll of 1211/12.⁵ In 1222 the manor was leased to Geoffrey de Tureville, then

⁴ *Stones of Bray*, pp. 214, 220. It is not certain what was the original Irish name of Bray, but there does not seem to be any justification for a form ending with the letter n. It looks as if Bren in this charter was copied from Brien of

the earlier charter, but was intended by the officials who drew up the charter to refer to Bray.

⁵ Pipe Roll, xiv John, in U.J.A. 3rd ser. vol. iv (1941) Supplement, p. 11.

archdeacon of Dublin. In 1224 the Justiciary was ordered to have the extent (or valuation) placed on Obrun rectified, as it was too severe on the tenants, and to deliver the land to de Tureville. Obrun appears to have been held by him on behalf of the Archbishop of Dublin, who surrendered it into the king's hands in 1226; it is described as being of the king's demesne.

The king's title derived from the reservation by Henry II of Dublin and the adjacent cantreds to himself when he granted Leinster to Strongbow. These cantreds included the country south of Dublin as far as Newcastle MacKynegan, ten miles south of Bray. Strongbow, as deputy of the king, made grants of parts of this district, to be held by military service; but sometime after his death in 1176, the king's lands were, as far as possible, organised into manors bringing in revenue to the Exchequer. The records do not tell us when this was done, but the organisation must have been taken in hand before the date of the building of the king's castle of Newcastle MacKynegan, which was probably about 1200, or perhaps earlier. The Pipe Roll of 1211/12, which is the earliest that has survived, accounts for rents of the betaghs of the king's manors of Obrun and Othee, and is obviously dealing with estates which had been organised for some time.

The establishment of the king's manors evidently involved interference with the grants of land which had been made to the Norman leaders in the early years of the conquest. We can see an example of this in the lands of Cork, adjoining Little Bray; it must have been intended to be included in the five knights' fees called Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil in de Ridelesford's charter; but in 1200 we find it called 3 carucates of land at Corkach' in the fee of Hubrim, the land of Fulk de Cantilupe; Meyler FitzHenry, the Justiciary, offered to pay the king 10 marks for a lease of it. In 1207 the king granted it to one of his clerks.⁶

In this instance it appears that in 1200 the king was dealing with land which had been granted to de Ridelesford as if it was part of the cantreds reserved to the crown. It is at about this date that Dr. Brooks places the death of Walter de Ridelesford I, to whom Strongbow had given the charter of 1173. Another document of the year 1200, cited by Dr. Brooks, shows that some difficulty had then arisen about the de Ridelesford lands: "Walter de Ridelesford gives to the king 20 marks to have the king's confirmation of his lands, licence to hunt hares and foxes, and for a writ of bounds between him and his neighbours. *Cancelled, because the king suspects Walter's charter; oblation not received.*" Dr. Brooks suggests that this was an application by Walter de Ridelesford II, eldest son and heir of Walter de Ridelesford I, made at the date of his father's death. This seems most probable, but the question arises, why did the king not grant the confirmation which Walter asked for? It seems peculiar, seeing that some 12 or

⁶ Sweetman, C.D.I. i, nos. 128, 129, 322, and see nos. 1753, 2123. Hubrim, as Mills says, represents Uí Briuin. As this included Cork, it must also have included Bray.

15 years before he had, when Lord of Ireland, given a charter of confirmation to Walter de Ridelesford I.

That there was some uncertainty about the extent of de Ridelesford's lands is suggested by the early thirteenth century deed, mentioned above, which settled the dispute about boundaries at Glencullen between St. Mary's Abbey and St. Thomas's Abbey. We have further evidence of conflicting claims in 1237, when Geoffrey de Tureville, who still held Obrun from the king, got a mandate directing the Justiciary to give him seisin of the king's wood of Garfloun,⁷ in the hands of Walter de Ridelesford, which wood, it is stated, belongs to the forest and land of Obrun held by Geoffrey. This shows that there was a dispute about part of Obrun between Walter de Ridelesford II and the king's lessee. I would suggest that there was some connection between these disputes and the king's suspicion of Walter's charter.

Such facts as we have suggest that John, when he made the grant of 1185-9, had already planned to bring back as much as possible of the cantreds near Dublin into possession of the crown. The question of the title of Walter de Ridelesford I to the lands granted by Strongbow's charter seems to have been left in abeyance during his lifetime, and to have been raised only when his son, Walter II, claimed to be confirmed in his father's lands; but it would appear that during the lifetime of Walter I the king had taken possession of some of the lands which, under Strongbow's charter, should have formed part of de Ridelesford's fee. I would suggest that it was possible to do this with a show of legality because already at the time when John was Lord of Ireland, between 1185 and 1199, his officials claimed that it was not known what lands were meant by the description "Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil," and treated it as referring only to the lands at Bray and in the Curtlestown neighbourhood, and held that the rest of the lands in the area formed part of the king's cantreds. That Walter de Ridelesford II endeavoured to maintain a claim that Brien meant the lands of Ui Briuin seems to be suggested by the fact that the king refused in 1200 to give him the confirmation which he asked for, and by the disputes about boundaries. The restricted terms of the confirmation which Walter I got from John, Lord of Ireland, in 1185-9 show that he was not then in a position to insist on his right to five knights' fees under Strongbow's charter.

The different views expressed in recent times about the meaning of the name Brien may, therefore, reflect differences of opinion of a respectable antiquity.

Strongbow's intention in making the original grant to de Ridelesford may have been to put him in possession of a long tract of land bordering the mountains, so as to make it impossible for groups of hostile Irish to find a refuge there. This of course was what afterwards happened, but if de Ridelesford had been left undisturbed the course of events might have been different.

⁷ This wood was apparently somewhere on the boundary between Powerscourt parish and Kilmacanoge parish (Glen-cap): Cal. Ormond Deeds, vol. i, no. 489.

THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE ON THE DUBLIN STAGE*

By John Hall Stewart, *Member.*

I. INTRODUCTION.

THAT the French Revolution was a matter of keen interest to Irishmen is generally acknowledged among students of that momentous event.¹ That it was so to Dubliners in particular (at least to those who printed and read the newspapers of that city) is amply indicated in the press of the Irish capital from 1789 onwards. That those same Dubliners were early brought face to face, *in two theatres*, with what purported to be representations of one of the first of the numerous colourful incidents of the French Revolution, namely the fall of the Bastille, is one of the most interesting facts revealed in the newspapers.

Where did these presentations originate? How did they happen to reach Ireland? Who produced them? What form did they take? How were they received? To what extent were they effective, either as drama or as factors in shaping Irish opinion on the French Revolution?

* This paper is a by-product and, at the same time, the first completed portion of a study of the French Revolution and Ireland. The writer wishes to acknowledge the generosity of The Social Science Research Council of Washington, D. C., and The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Pa., in providing him with travel grants which enabled him to study in Ireland in 1950 and 1953. He would be lacking in appreciation were he not also to indicate his indebtedness to the Chairman of the Department of History and the President of Western Reserve University for granting him leaves of absence from his academic duties during part of each of those years.

¹ Literature on Ireland and the French Revolution is, however, relatively scarce. The older "classics" by J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols. (London, 1872-1874) and W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 5 vols. (London, 1892-1896) treat it incidentally, as does the

more recent work of Jules Deschamps, *Les Iles Britanniques et la Révolution française (1789-1803)* (Brussels, 1949). Richard Hayes' *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution* (London, 1932) is more concerned with Irishmen in France than with the effect of the Revolution on Ireland. The work by E. Guillon, *La France et l'Irlande pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1888), is now long out of print. And the only attempt to do it justice is R. B. McDowell's *Irish Public Opinion, 1750-1800* (London, 1944), which devotes two chapters (8 and 9) to the subject. For the most part, studies of the relations of France and Ireland during the Revolution deal with the later years, from 1796 on, with the United Irishmen and the abortive French invasions of the island. See, for example, E. H. Stuart Jones, *An Invasion that Failed: The French Expedition to Ireland, 1796* (Oxford, 1950); R. R. Madden, *The United Irishmen, Their Lives and Times*, 7 vols. (London, 1842-1846); P. W. Pullister, *The Irish Rebellion of 1798* (London, 1898).

II. "THE BASTILLE" REACHES IRELAND VIA LONDON.

The fall of the Bastille in Paris, on 14 July, 1789, was an event of the type that appeals to the imagination. Its general nature was such as to lend it to dramatic portrayal. What was more likely than that some enterprising theatrical owner or manager in the neighbouring British Isles should endeavour to produce a reasonable facsimile of the thrilling episode which had received such complete coverage in both the English and the Irish press?² In the English-speaking world, a world which watched with keen interest what was early styled "The French Revolution," it was only natural that such a production (or productions) should originate in London.

Just when the showing of these spectacles began it is difficult to determine. It is certain, however, that in the late Summer or early Autumn of 1789, two London theatres—"Sadler's Wells" and "The Royal Circus"—were presenting this type of performance.³ It is also known that the programmes of these two theatres prompted their principal competitor, Philip Astley, to hasten to France, purchase exhibits from Dr. Curtius (uncle of Mme Tussaud) and others, return to create "Paris in an Uproar; or, The Destruction of the Bastille"⁴ for the arena of his "Royal Amphitheatre," and fill his stage with "A Grand Model of the City of Paris."⁵

Soon, however, the Bastille extravaganzas seem to have run afoul of the law. Perhaps they proved offensive to the French *émigrés*, who already were finding sanctuary in the British capital. Perhaps the authorities may have feared that such performances might serve as a means of disseminating sympathy with the Revolution. In view of the date, however, in all probability a more cogent reason was the fact that, under the Theatre Act of 1737 (the basic statute regulating show places in "The City"), Astley's, Sadler's Wells, and many similar establishments were outside the law. They existed on sufferance, frequently resorted to subterfuge to evade the provisions of the Act, and had often incurred the displeasure of the Lord Chamberlain, Licensor of Theatres.⁶

In any case, under the heading "London, 2 November", *The Dublin Chronicle* for Saturday, 7 November, 1789, carried an announcement that:

² Beginning on 23 July, 1789, and for some two weeks thereafter, the leading Dublin newspapers carried detailed accounts of and comments on the fall of the Bastille. Much of the news was taken from London journals.

³ See Disher, Maurice Wilson, *Greatest Show on Earth, as Performed for over a Century at Astley's (afterwards Sanger's) Royal Amphitheatre of Arts, Westminster Bridge Road*, intro. by D. L. Murray (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1937), p. 59.

⁴ For some unknown reason, this spelling of Bastille was universally used in the newspapers and announcements.

⁵ See Disher, *op. cit.*, p. 61. It was customary in these "Amphitheatres" to have an arena in which equestrian exercises, pageants, pantomimes, and similar performances were produced, and around which galleries were placed for the spectators. At one end of the arena it was becoming common to have a stage upon which alternating shows or displays might be exhibited.

⁶ See Fowell, Frank, and Palmer, Frank, *Censorship in England* (London: Frank Palmer, 1913), pp. 287 ff.; the text of the Act of 1737 is in the Appendix, pp. 368-372.

On Wednesday last a formal message was received by the Managers of both Theatres, strictly forbidding any representation of, or approaching to, the late destruction of the Bastille: and it was at the same time intimated, from the same quarter, that no representation founded on any of the recent transactions in France, was to be produced at either Theatre! The preparations which were going forward at both, have in consequence been suspended.

The latter part of this statement might seem to imply that the productions had not yet been displayed, though Disher gives assurance that they were already in performance.⁷ "Both theatres" referred to "Sadler's Wells" and "Astley's." The fate of "The Royal Circus" remains unknown to the present writer. The prohibition is adequate indication of why the producers at both theatres should endeavour to dispose of their properties for "The Bastille" or to exploit them elsewhere. By interesting coincidence, both sets of properties were to appear shortly in Dublin.⁸

III. THE DUBLIN THEATRE IN 1789.

In 1789 the dramatic performances of Dublin were centred in the "Theatre Royal," under the management of one Richard Daly.⁹ A Trinity College man, Daly had acquired, in 1786, a patent granting him an exclusive licence for fourteen years, under an Act according a monopoly to one theatre in the city. Originally located in Smock Alley,¹⁰ he moved, in 1787, to Crow Street, to a property which he had owned for some years but which had been standing idle.¹¹ After lavishly redecorating the building, Daly re-opened it early in 1788.¹²

Almost immediately Daly was beset with misfortune. Disparaging notices of his performances appeared in *The Dublin Evening Post* in 1789,¹³ as a consequence of which Daly brought suit against the editor, John Magee. Daly won the suit, but his friendship with Francis Higgins (the infamous "Sham Squire"), owner of *The Freeman's Journal*,¹⁴ made a con-

⁷ *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.

⁸ Disher, however, makes no mention of Dublin in this connection until the year 1795.

⁹ Concerning the Dublin theatre at this time see: Stockwell, La Tourette, *Dublin Theatres and Theatre Customs (1637-1820)* (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, 1938), p. 160; Kavanagh, Peter, *The Irish Theatre. Being a History of the Drama in Ireland from the Earliest Period up to the Present Day* (Tralee: The Kerryman, Ltd., 1946), p. 285.

¹⁰ The Smock Alley Theatre had opened in 1662. Its first rival, The Theatre Royal, was established in 1734. In 1743 the two amalgamated. See Hughes, Glenn, *The Story of the Theatre . . .* (New York and London: Samuel French, 1947), pp. 207-208.

¹¹ The Crow Street Theatre had been built in 1758; see Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 208. The Smock Alley Theatre was

never re-opened as a playhouse, ultimately became a warehouse, and was demolished in 1815; see Kavanagh, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

¹² Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 208, indicates that Daly maintained a close connection with London theatres.

¹³ One of the oldest of Dublin newspapers, *The Dublin Evening Post* had been established in 1732. In 1778 it took over *The Dublin Evening Journal*. It appeared on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, and its editorial columns were among the most vituperative of the time.

¹⁴ *The Public Register; Or, Freeman's Journal* had been founded in 1763, and was published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. As ruthless in its editorials as its chief competitor, *The Dublin Evening Post*, it was under the supervision of Higgins from 1783 to 1802. *Freeman's* was a "Government" sheet; Magee's was in the camp of the opposition.

tinuation of the feud inevitable in the columns of the rival journals. Disturbances ensued at Crow Street performances, soon people were afraid to attend them, and Daly's future became uncertain to say the least. In view of his vulnerability almost any competition might prove his undoing. Particularly was this true when the competitor proved to be none other than the fabulous Philip Astley.

Astley and his equestrian performances had been well known throughout the British Isles for years. Although it was his only child, his son John ("Young Astley"), who brought the Astley version of the Bastille to Dublin, Astley senior merits more than passing mention.¹⁵

Born in 1742, at Newcastle-upon-Lyme, Philip Astley early deserted his father's trade of cabinet-maker to become a cavalryman. After a brief but colourful army career, he turned to what was to be his life's work—equestrian performances. A natural judge of horses, and exceedingly skillful in training and riding them, he became a leading performer of his time. In a sense, he was the real founder of the modern circus.¹⁶

Following some early vicissitudes in the business of showmanship, in 1779 Astley opened "The Amphitheatre Riding-House" at Westminster Bridge, London. Meanwhile, he had married a horse-woman, who bore him a son, John. At a very early age the lad was put into performance, and from the first he demonstrated the marked prowess of both his parents.

Astley's principal competitors in London were Hughes (one of his former associates) and Dibdin. In their "Royal Circus and Equestrian Philharmonic Academy" at Blackfriars Road, uncomfortably close to Westminster Bridge, both arena and stage were incorporated in the current manner. So great was their success that Astley, despite an utter lack of experience in any but equestrian entertainment, was forced to add a stage and a variety programme at his establishment.

In addition to conducting his "Amphitheatre Royal" in London, Astley founded some nineteen other equestrian institutions, continued as a performer himself, and toured the British Isles and the Continent. When he died in 1814 he left a thriving business, an enviable reputation, and several books, chiefly on horsemanship.¹⁷ Altogether a remarkable fellow!

¹⁵ Concerning Astley see the works cited above by Disher, Kavanagh, and Stockwell. See also: Harvey, Sir Paul, comp. and ed., *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 44; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 207-208.

¹⁶ *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 207-208, describes him as a man "of violent temper, peremptory of speech and rude of manner, but of great energy and notable integrity . . ." Lack of formal education

did not preclude his acquiring an extensive and flamboyant vocabulary, the use of which frequently resulted in startling remarks. His comment on Louis XVI is a classic: "That there King can't be the father of the Dolphin. Why, he's omnipotent"; see Disher, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁷ See Bateson, F. W., ed., *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 3 vols. and index (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), vol. 2., pp. 817, 827.

Since his first visit to Ireland in 1773, Astley had returned on several occasions. Apparently he decided to open another of his equestrian establishments there, for in 1788 he obtained a license, permitting him

to cause to be represented feats of horsemanship, musical pieces, dancing, tumbling and pantomimes of any nature, provided they be decent and becoming . . . provided that no regular tragedy, comedy, opera, play, or farce, be performed . . . as shall be exhibited at the theatre royal.¹⁸

Obviously, his "theatre" was to be more in the nature of a circus; but, as already suggested, circumstances were to give it theatrical significance in Dublin in competition with the Theatre Royal.

The competition began with the "season" of 1789. One of the prominent features in the competition was the production of "The Bastile"!

IV. THE BASTILLE ARRIVES IN IRELAND.

In its issue of Friday, 6 November, 1789, the newsy and editorially-active *Hibernian Journal*¹⁹ carried an advertisement of the coming attractions at the Theatre Royal—a comic opera ("The Highland Reel") and a pantomime ("The Hermit of the Rocks"). The notice also named three productions "in rehearsal." Of these, one bore the suggestive title "The Entertainment of the Bastile."²⁰

During the ensuing week announcements of the foregoing items and others (e.g., "As You Like It" and "The Beggar's Opera") were accompanied by repetitions of the numbers in rehearsal. Finally, on (of all dates) Friday, 13 November, there appeared the official pronouncement that on the following evening the première of the gala spectacle would take place.²¹

¹⁸ *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae*, vol. 1, Part III, p. 109; quoted in Kavanagh, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

¹⁹ *The Hibernian Journal* appeared on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Founded about 1770, it was printed by Thomas McDonnell "at the Hibernian Printing Office, No. 50, Essex-Street." It was one of the few papers of the day that carried literary or theatrical reviews or commentaries. These usually appeared in the column headed "Dublin", along with local news items and editorial opinions. Of its four folio pages, at least two, and sometimes part of a third, were devoted to remarkably good news coverage and a relatively vigorous editorial policy. In keeping with common practice of the day, Mr. McDonnell was, in all probability, editor, publisher, and printer of the paper.

²⁰ Similar advertisements appeared, during this and the following week, in *Freeman's Journal*, *The Dublin Chronicle*, and *The Dublin Journal*.

The Dublin Chronicle was a relatively new journal. Founded in 1787, it

appeared on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, from the shop of W. Sleater, no. 28 Dame Street. Its eight pages, somewhat smaller than those of its contemporaries, presented perhaps the greatest amount of "literary" material of any of the Dublin papers of the day, though its comments on the theatre were not necessarily more extensive.

The Dublin Journal (commonly known as "Faulkner's"), another Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday paper, was printed by Thomas Todd Faulkner. Established in 1725 by George Faulkner (Swift's printer), it was a substantial, reputable, and rather dull organ. After 1788 it was controlled by John Gifford, a bigot and braggart, who was in the pay of the Government.

²¹ It should be noted that few newspapers contained advertisements of this length. Because of the current tax on such items, advertisers usually reduced their announcements to the bare essentials.

THEATRE ROYAL

.....

... (never performed in this Kingdom) a new, grand, and interesting Spectacle, taken from the Circumstances of the Revolution of France, called

GALLIC FREEDOM; Or,
The DESTRUCTION of the BASTILE:

Comprising the most striking Occurrences which happened
In the CITY OF PARIS,

And particularly of that ever-memorable Event, the Attack, Storming, and Demolition of the

BASTILE:

Presenting to the Spectators a lively Picture of the French Capital during the late commotions, and uniformly and correctly portraying the characteristic Manners of a Parisian Mob, under the various Agitations of that glorious Struggle which gave birth to National Freedom.

Among the other Facts relative to the Progress of so important a Revolution, those principally attended to are :

The first assembling of the Bourgeoise in the Fauxbourg St. Martin, with the subsequent Junction of the Citizens and Soldiers.

The Manner of their proceeding to the Assault of the Bastile, and their previous Conference with the Governor and his Officers.

The Massacre of the Citizens, who passed the Drawbridge in consequence.

The Cannonade, and general Attack which immediately followed, with the effecting a Breach, and the intrepid Conduct of those who first entered.

The Skirmish with the Garde Criminelle and their Officers in an interior Court of the Prison.

The forcible Entry into the Governor's House, with the Transactions which there took Place, previous to the beheading of M. de Launey by the Mob.

The actual Descent of the Soldiers and Citizens by Torch-light into the

SUBTERRANEAN DUNGEONS,

With their further Proceedings under Ground, to the Discovery of those unfortunate Objects confined in the horrid Recesses of the Place

The Music, Scenery, Dresses, and Decorations, entirely New; the Drawings for the different Scenes taken on the Spot, and the Paintings executed by the most eminent Artists.

The Theatre Royal version of "The Bastile" continued until the evening of Thursday, 26 November. The last performance (at least for some time) followed what was, according to newspaper accounts, an outstanding rendition of "The Tempest." The success of Shakespeare, however, appears to have had little connection with the termination of "The Bastile." The determining factor would seem to have been external competition. On the same evening, Astley's new "Theatre Royal" opened its doors to the Dublin public:²² and one of *its* features was also "The Bastile."

Astley's opening had long been anticipated. On Saturday, 7 November, *The Dublin Chronicle* and *The Dublin Journal* had carried identical statements (in their "Dublin" columns) to the effect that:

Mr. Astley is now busily employed in decorating and beautifying his Theatre in Peter-street, in an elegant manner:—the boxes, pit and gallery are on a new construction, and the utmost attention is paid to the accommodation of the audience:—The performances to be brought forward by this Manager, will, it is said, astonish the town—particularly the new pantomime of the Bastile, which it is confidently asserted, will surpass every thing of the kind hitherto exhibited in Europe.

And during the ensuing fortnight, other newspapers added their tributes. On Wednesday, 25 November, *The Hibernian Journal* carried Astley's official advertisement, which speaks for itself.

THEATRE ROYAL, PETER-STREET

Mr. Astley most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, and others, that the THEATRE ROYAL in PETER-STREET, will open To-morrow Evening, the 26th November, 1789, with a variety of ENTERTAINMENTS, the Particulars of which will be expressed in the Bills of the Day.

Doors to be open at six, and the Performance to begin precisely at seven.

Boxes 3s 3d, Pit and Lattices 2s 2d, Gallery and Lattices 1s 1d

N.B. The Theatre has been rebuilt on an entire new Plan, and a Quantity of Scenery and Machinery placed therein. The BASTILE, with the Grand Model of PARIS, will be given the first Night's Entertainment: the whole of the Dresses, as well as the Music, and numberless Decorations, conformable to the Piece, and which cannot be given elsewhere.—Places for the Boxes to be taken immediately at the Theatre.

In the same issue, the Peter Street theatre received additional comment:

We hear that Mr. Astley, manager of the new theatre in Peter-street, has spared neither labour nor money in rendering every part of his house equally agreeable and convenient to the numerous and polite audiences expected to honour his company, who are, we hear, the first performers in their several departments that the continent could afford. . . .

We can assure the public that the Theatre Royal in Peter-Street will open to-morrow evening, Nov. 26th, with a most extensive variety of capital and pleasing entertainments, including that grand spectacle, the Destruction of the Bastile, as originally brought out by Mr. Astley with universal applause.

²² For some time, and without legal sanction, Astley used the name "Theatre Royal-Peter Street", which caused Daly to resort to "Theatre Royal Crow Street." In time, however, Astley

apparently was forced to change the name of his establishment to "Amphitheatre Royal"; see *The Dublin Chronicle*, 12 January, 1790.

Thus, by the end of November, 1789—less than five months after the fall of the Bastille in Paris—Dublin theatre audiences were provided with the opportunity of witnessing two versions of that historic event. Moreover, the performances enjoyed what were apparently good “runs.” Despite the Peter-Street competition, Daly revived his production at least once during the first half of December, and again for several showings during the latter part of the month. Naturally, these revivals seldom, if ever, coincided with Astley’s “Bastile.” So far as can be judged from the newspapers, the Crow Street “Gallic Freedom” was not discontinued entirely until mid-January of 1790; while the Peter Street “Bastile” was presented at intervals during December, and again on several occasions in January. Apparently Astley’s last showing took place on 20 January, some ten days before he closed his Dublin season with two benefit performances, one for the Lying-in Hospital, the other for imprisoned debtors.

What was the nature of “Gallic Freedom” and “The Bastile”?

V. “THE BASTILE” ON THE DUBLIN STAGE.

Something of the nature of the “Bastile” presentations of both Daly and Astley has already been suggested, especially in the newspaper advertisements of the opening performances. Obviously, each was a pantomime-spectacle-extravaganza type of entertainment, based upon an exciting event, and reaching a grand climax in the storming of the fortress and the liberation of its prisoners. The frequent use of sub-titles—“Gallic Freedom” at Crow Street, “The Triumph of Liberty” at Peter Street—implies an attempt to manifest sympathy with what the French had done, to indicate approval of an attack on tyranny, to show agreement with the search for liberty. Both productions were definitely romanticist and propagandist in character.

Astley’s version was supplemented by the large scale-model of the city of Paris, which filled the stage at one end of his theatre. Apparently Daly had nothing comparable with this, but he did include a love theme, the author of which (perhaps fortunately) remains unknown. This theme had little to do with the facts of the case, but it did provide an added appeal for the audience.²³

How were these two versions of “The Bastile” received in Dublin—at least in so far as their reception may be determined from the contemporary newspapers?

²³ *The Hibernian Journal* found the story sufficiently attractive to devote more than a column of its issue of 23

November to the enlightenment of its readers in this connection.

VI. THE DUBLIN PRESS AND DALY'S VERSION OF "THE BASTILE."

So far as *The Hibernian Journal* was concerned, the anticipations with regard to the Theatre Royal's presentation of "The Bastile" seem to have been well founded. Its advertisement on Monday, 16 November, 1789, gave the production a second billing (as "Gallic Freedom") on the same programme with "The Highland Reel." This time the editor's comments were isolated under the heading **DRAMATIC BASTILE.**

The Theatre Royal on Saturday evening last presented the public with a new, interesting singular dramatic morceau, in every respect worthy of their admiration and patronage. The popular entertainment of the **BASTILE** was exhibited in so complete, superb and capital a style, as to challenge any precedent. So extraordinary was the effect of this nouvelle piece, upon a very crowded and fashionable audience, that from the beginning to the end, was a continual burst of applause. The story is peculiarly interesting, and speaks to the feelings of the heart. The various proceedings of the Parisian mob—the joining of the military with the citizens—their forcing into the Bastile—their descending into the subterraneous dungeons—their releasing of such members of poor wretches who had been confined in those shocking receptacles—the raising of the iron cage, with the figure entombed within, and the final demolition of this human sepulchre, were incidents impossible to see, and not to feel. Never was a piece better supported by the respective performers, and we may truly say, that the plot, conduct of the whole scenery, etc. formed the most animated, beautiful, and picturesque entertainment ever presented on the Irish stage.

And its next issue continued the praise.

The Destruction of the Bastile was on Monday night last repeated a second time to an admiring audience, with the well-earned applause due this excellent and pathetic piece, which promises to be a favourite with the public, from the spirit and correctness of the acting, the beauty of the scenery and machinery, the regularity of the military marchings and firings, the gloomy spectacle of human woe, victims to tyranny and oppression, raised from the dreary dungeons of the Bastile, and the conclusion of the whole of this detested prison in a destruction of flames, formed a succession of such interesting scenes, as were never before presented at a theatre.

In similar vein *The Dublin Chronicle* reported, 17 November:

Saturday and last night presented us with a sight truly nouvelle, at the Theatre, in the representation of the celebrated destruction of the Bastile at Paris. As the subject was interesting in the highest degree, so was the performance to a polite and crowded audience, who, through the whole, expressed their satisfaction of almost unceasing plaudits. The scenery, machinery, and dresses were admirably characteristic; and in the acting, the successive spectacles which were presented, excited all the emotions of laughter, astonishment, and in many instances, melted the audience to tears. Even the marchings and firings of the troops were so regular and military as to draw attention. But above all, the act of exploring the Bastile dungeon, and exhibiting the wretched objects found immured in this dreary prison, particularly the almost perishing youth in the iron cage, furnished so pathetic a scene of the horrors of slavery, as to move the house into indignation and tears. It is remarkable that the above nights were the first of the attack and destruction of the Bastile, yet not a single mistake occurred throughout the whole.

Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* likewise found Daly's production good. On Saturday, 21 November, it announced that:

The Theatre Royal was on Thursday night last attended by some of the first persons, and a full House, to see the Comedy of the Chapter of Accidents, and the so much admired destruction of the Bastile. . . .

The Destruction of the Bastile was on Monday night last repeated a second former representations; and promises to continue a favourite amusement with the town. . . .

The *Freeman's Journal* was pro-Daly, but gave him little space—its time was to come when Astley's production began.

As might be expected, *The Dublin Evening Post* had much criticism to offer. To it Daly's "Bastile" was "a direct outrage against the spirit and constitution of certain great men", a "Gallic contagion."²⁴ Its most vigorous attack came on Tuesday, 1 December.

The present conduct of the Theatre Royal is an exemplary illustration to the lover of the Drama in Ireland, of the impropriety of granting an exclusive patent to any individual manager, without a due examination of his pretensions to a claim so intimately connected not only with the rational amusement of the politer public, but with the taste and morals of the age, and particularly of the rising generation.

The Stage properly considered, should be the school of illustration. . . .

The theatrical performances of Dublin at present, do but sorry honour to the auspices of a manager—so recently compared from the Bench to his accomplished predecessor, *Sheridan*, of whose dramatic reign the present is a sorry *caricature*. . . .

One would imagine the manager in his British trips, along with the kind of forces he contrives to buy, imagines himself importing with his cargo the taste of that *cannaille* they have been accustomed to amuse.

A troop of imported Thespiens in general culled from the refuse of the London theatres, on the vacations of the provincial ones in England, and eked out by the same farrago of tumblers—rope dancers, and Little Devils, and other buffoons that honoured our stage last year, as long as their attention could be spared from administering to the polite amusements of the Islington cow keepers at Sadlers Wells. . . .

If . . . our complacency continues thus unlimited, we shall probably be gratified next season, with the amusements of the *Bear-garden*, or the polite feats of *Hockley in the Hole*, the elegant championism of a *Ward* and *Mendoza*, or the humorous pranks of a company of *Quadruped Comedians* from *Siberia*. . . .

VII. THE DUBLIN PRESS AND ASTLEY'S VERSION OF "THE BASTILE."

Comments on Astley's version of "The Bastile" assume special significance in the light of existing circumstances. Theatre audiences and newspaper critics had already had an opportunity to see Daly's version, and thus were able to compare and contrast the two productions. The name and reputation of Astley apparently had already made a considerable

²⁴ Issue of Thursday, 26 November, 1789.

impression on the Dublin Public. And, naturally, the misfortunes of Daly afforded an occasion for his supporters to indulge in special criticism of his competitor and for his detractors to provide extreme adulation for Astley.

Generally, however, the comments seem to have been favourable. On Tuesday, 1 December, 1789, *The Dublin Chronicle* referred to Astley's "superb representation of the Bastile and model of Paris, which will be continued by desire." Two days later it lamented the fact that the performance was soon to yield to "another popular subject" (actually it was to continue for some time), and added that "This Theatre seems to be all the rage at present, and very justly . . ." And in its issues of 29 and 31 December, it added further words of praise and bade "The Bastile" a fond and reluctant farewell.

In similar vein *The Dublin Journal* of Saturday, 28 November, hailed Astley's efforts and proclaimed that "the Bastile was represented in a very superb stile, and was received with unbounded applause, from all parts of the house"; and on 3 December it extolled the impressive quality of "the Model of Paris."

The most verbose comments, at least among the favourable ones, appeared in *The Hibernian Journal*. On Friday, 27 November, 1789, in supplementing Astley's advertisement (which claimed sixty-one consecutive nights of presentation in London—to full houses), this paper commented:

Last night the Theatre Royal, Peter-street, opened with a variety of capital entertainments, which, considering a first representation, went off with great *éclat*. The house was remarkably crowded, and the boxes were filled with elegance and beauty. The audience, by their repeated marks of applause, seemed to approve the great alterations and improvements which have been made in the house and on the stage, and which now, for accommodation and brilliancy, is the most complete place of entertainment that can be seen. . . .

Again, on Monday, 30 November, the same paper commended the Peter Street efforts, and referred to "the favourite representation of the Bastile, which will also be given by desire." Two days later, the encomiums continued:

The animated and true portrait of the Destruction of the Bastile . . . still maintains its ground of superiority; and for this very interesting reason, because in a country of freedom, it furnishes the warmest lesson of liberality and patriotism.

On Friday, 4 December, in deploring the impending termination of Astley's "Bastile," *The Hibernian Journal* stated:

The above piece is greatly spoken of by all who have visited the Theatre-Royal in Peter-street; they say the music, scenery, and decorations, exceed every thing seen in this country, and the whole plot of the piece rendered in so affecting a manner, by performers of the first class as to convey the most striking idea of that great revolution in Paris, and strictly conformable to the most minute circumstances of that event.

The continued presentation of Astley's "Bastile," however, evoked, on Wednesday, 30 December, the comment:

The Bastile, performed at Astley's, still continues to make a great impression on the curiosity of the public, from the exact representation of the facts as they really occurred, which produces a most interesting variety of scenes, in which the spectators feel the warmest emotions. The beautiful model of Paris also gives great satisfaction, being a most capital representation of that metropolis, and is esteemed by connoisseurs, a very curious piece of mechanism . . .

Finally, on Friday, 1 January, 1790, *The Hibernian Journal* concluded its remarks as follows:

It must be allowed that the representation of the Bastile, and the pantomime called the Children of the Sun, represented at Astley's, form two of the grandest spectacles ever exhibited on any stage, and produce the most delightful effect; we are only sorry to hear they will be withdrawn after this week. . . .²⁵

Whether honestly, or as a means of attacking Daly, *The Dublin Evening Post* also lauded Astley's performances. On Saturday, 28 November, its "Dublin" column announced:

The entertainments at Peter-street Theatre, are highly spoken of by all ranks—the representation of the Bastile is performed in a stile of elegance and propriety that does Mr. ASTLEY much credit—the facts are so truly portrayed, and the siege and storming of that once formidable fortress, carried on in the most striking manner possible, which, with the release of the prisoners, and the finishing scene of the beautiful model of Paris, afforded a treat to all connoisseurs of real merit, and was received with repeated marks of approbation.

Despite its bias, the *Post* did not devote much space to Astley, though its praise was consistent. On Thursday, 3 December, in anticipating his closing of "The Bastile," its editor remarked:

Every one speaks highly of the above entertainment; no confusion, no smoke, no impropriety in the dresses or characters, in general; in short, the whole is conducted strictly conformable to the events.

As might be expected, criticism of Astley and his entertainment came principally from the partisan of Daly's theatre, namely Higgins' *Freeman's Journal*. Much of its adverse comment must be attributed to the Daly-Magee feud; nevertheless, some of it doubtless was effective in so far as readers of that journal were concerned. On Saturday, 7 November, an editorial derided Astley:

The mummer *Astley* is getting into good hands—*Magee* is his arm and arm friend—and such a *friend*, as bids fair to leave the horse-rider, in a more substantial *Bastile*, than the mock-one, which in true Bartholomew fair stile, he talks of exhibiting. . . .

Ten days later, *Freeman's* ridiculed the entire Astley undertaking:

From the ludicrous list of *Monsieurs* and *Mesdames*, which form Astley's present troop, a correspondent is of opinion that a gang of the *Parisian mob* have escaped from France, and are about to break loose upon the city of Dublin. . . .

²⁵ The issue of 30 December had explained that Astley's patent would expire in four weeks, and that he was

due to open in Liverpool early in February.

During the following week the tirade was resumed. On Tuesday, 24 November, *Freeman's* lamented that:

The word *Opera-house* is prostituted in the last Evening Post, by the application of the term to *Astley's* mummery booth in Peter-street.—The next announcements, we suppose, will be that Astley, senior and junior, have undergone the requisites for qualifying them as singers in their *new Opera house*. Did no other consideration operate for giving every encouragement possible to the regular Theatre of the country, that of the monies received at the Theatre being spent among us, is sufficient. Whereas the foreign mummers come here for no other end but to get all they can, and to carry off all they can.

The next issue continued the monetary theme.

It is said, that the *Astleys* had the impudence to boast, a little previous to their late arrival in this country, that they would *remit* more Irish guineas to London, than the whole company of the Theatre-Royal should be able to *spend* in Ireland. And yet, perhaps, there will be some persons among us, who will deem it public spirited, and even wise, just and patriotic, to encourage a set of foreign mummers, in preference to native performers of intrinsic merit, and who would rather that Irish guineas were spent by the *Astleys* in London, than by residents in this metropolis.

Throughout the month of December this type of abuse characterized the columns of Higgins' journal. On Tuesday, 8 December, in an enthusiastic review of the performance at Daly's theatre, it contrasted the brilliance of that display with "the mummeries of the *cold catching* booth in Peter-street." . . . And the following issue contained the statement:

A correspondent says, that the *Peter-street Booth* will eventually be of much service to the interest of the Theatre-Royal, because the low and vile mummeries introduced at the Booth, forming a contrast with the rational entertainments of a regular theatre, must speedily shame those, whose taste can be so gross as to relish the greatest buffooneries, in preference to the solid intellectual pleasures of the Stage. . . . The mummery at the Peter-street Booth, is become so truly vulgar and despicable, that persons of every respect are already ashamed of being seen there, particularly as their ears are constantly assailed from the Gallery, with speeches more filthy than the foul Puddle which ouzes up under the seats.²⁶

Actually, Daly and his supporting journal were fighting a losing battle, as the violence of *Freeman's* attacks might suggest—even in an age when such violence was common in newspaper columns. Not content with attacking the producer, the theatre, the performance, and the audience, *Freeman's* tried as well to make much of the allegedly unhealthful location of the "Peter-street Booth." On Saturday, 12 December, it announced:

From the shivering blasts which penetrate thro' the thin wooden walls of the *Peter-street booth*, and from the noxious vapours arising from the Puddle underneath, not a few colds and putrid fevers have already been caught by the *tasty* frequenters of that vulgar scene of mummery.

On Tuesday, 15 December, the paper mocked Astley as an "exhibitor of Pigs more learned than himself," and described his feats as "truly worthy of the ragged audience that honour him with their company." The last issue of the same week suggested that perhaps a "certain booth" was

²⁶ The Puddle was a creek which apparently ran under the theatre.

responsible for a new species of petty larceny—the stealing of theatrical posters.

Finally, on Christmas eve, Higgins gave the Peter-street theatre a “fond farewell”:

The short duration, for the present season, of the mummeries at the *Peter-street Booth*, will be a considerable loss to many of the faculty in this city, as no fever was ever more rife at present than what goes by the name of *Poddle fever*, occasioned by the noxious fumes of the filthy sewers, over which the Booth is immediately built, and which fumes are rendered a thousand times more pernicious by the heat of the collected foul breaths of the low and ragged company which frequent so vulgar a place of entertainment.

VIII. CONCLUSION.

In the light of the foregoing evidence, it would appear to be obvious that Daly’s “Gallic Freedom” and Astley’s “Bastile” enjoyed a considerable success. If the newspapers can be trusted, each had a respectable “run”, each gained a sizeable “public”, and, despite the intervention of political and personal controversies, each received a favourable press.

It would seem equally evident that neither production can be considered as great drama—if as drama at all. In the last analysis, both were thrilling spectacles, designed essentially as visual entertainment, directed toward the emotions, and, consciously or otherwise, serving as propaganda, if not for the French Revolution, at least for the cause of the people versus tyranny. It is from this point of view that both were basically significant.

Undoubtedly those who saw one or the other (or both) versions of the fall of the Bastille received a definite impression of what had taken place in France. Whatever such impression might be, it can be safely assumed that it went far toward shaping both individual and public opinion concerning the French Revolution. Whatever distorted or romanticized elements were present in the portrayals of events (or in the press notices of the performances), the facts of the case, supplemented by editorial opinions, were available in the columns of the several newspapers, in astonishing quantity and quality, both to enlighten and to shape opinion still further.²⁷

In view of the cost of theatre seats (a minimum of 1/1), at a time when a newspaper cost two pence an issue, and a day’s manual labour could be obtained for as little as threepence, in all probability those who attended the theatres were likewise the ones who could and did buy and read the newspapers, the ones whose attitudes might thus be affected and who, in turn, might well determine the attitudes of others. Any certainty in reaching even an approximate judgment on *this* matter, however, depends upon a more detailed examination of the extent and significance of the Dublin press in directing, moulding, or indicating public opinion. And that is a problem which must await separate and subsequent treatment.

²⁷ The “Bastile” was not to be the last medium through which Dublin audiences were to receive impressions of the French Revolution. Subsequent presentations, during the ensuing five years, portrayed the Festival of the Federation of July,

1790, the siege of Valenciennes, and by no means least significant (if only because it suggests a change of attitude) “Democratic Rage, or Louis the unfortunate.”

MISCELLANEA

LACUSTRINE OBJECTS FROM IRELAND IN THE MUSEUM SCHWAB AT BIEL.

Founded in 1873, the Museum Schwab in Biel, is the oldest and to this day one of the finest lacustrine collections in the world. The recent re-organisation of this Museum aimed at concentration, and in consequence a number of objects were relegated to the store-rooms. Among these are the objects which Schwab acquired from Ireland.

I am indebted to Dr. Werber Bourquin, Conservator of the Museum Schwab, for the following information (supplied from unpublished letters by Schwab kept in the Museum at Biel).

In August 1860, Schwab received the visit of Augustus Wollaston Franks, since 1851 attached to the department of antiquities of the British Museum. Born and reared at Geneva (see D.N.B. Suppl. ii (1901), 240 ff.), Franks apparently took a special interest in Switzerland. In 1863 Franks was again in Switzerland, but on this occasion visited Ferdinand Keller, President of the Antiquarische Gesellschaft at Zurich, rather than Schwab.

However, on November 4, Schwab wrote to Keller:

“With your letter I received the bronze tools from Ireland. The six chisels and the Celt (bronze hatchet) are fairly similar to those from Pest. Also the five arrow or lance points show resemblance. I intend to keep them. In exchange I send you 24 objects as per list. If you think this will be sufficient, the exchange can be regarded as complete.”

From Schwab's letter to Keller of December 4 it would appear that the objects from Ireland were sent to him by Franks:

“I regret very much that the box for Mr. Franks was despatched by you at once. I should have liked to add something. However, there will be an opportunity to do so still. A few days ago Mr. Franks told me in a very kind letter that the box had reached him safely. At the same time he informs me that the objects given to me in exchange were his private property. However, he deemed it right to present the objects given by me in exchange to the British Museum, and unfortunately he has stated that I was the finder. You can well imagine that for this reason alone I shall have to send him a few further objects. He says that the British Museum are forbidden to effect exchanges.”

Dr. Bourquin kindly sent me full-size sketches with dimensions of what are now items 6323 to 6329 in the collection Schwab, namely one dagger-point, two copper blades, one bronze blade and three bronze spear-points. These sketches will be deposited in the National Museum.

In 1868 Lubbock informed Schwab that he had been made Corresponding Member of the Antiquarian Society of London. In *Pre-historic Times*, Lubbock repeatedly refers to Schwab, of whose collection he gives a survey (p. 16 f. of the 1913 edition). The Biel collection is compared in that book with the Dublin collection (p. 36 f., also p. 220 ff.).

In 1890 Franks was one of the International experts called in by the Swiss Government to advise on the project of a National Museum.

John Hennig.

UNRECORDED EARTHWORK NEAR NEWGRANGE.

While engaged in the examination of aerial photographs taken by the Army Air Corps, Captain Michael Harrison of Army Headquarters, noted an unrecorded earthwork on the banks of the Boyne just below Newgrange. Captain Harrison brought the matter to the notice of Mr. Ruaidhri de Valera, Archaeology Officer of the Ordnance Survey and myself and we three visited the site. On a subsequent visit (in March 1953) I again examined the site and, with the help of members of the Archaeological Society of University College, Dublin, two sections (E-W and N-S) were surveyed across the earthwork.

The original photograph by the Army Air Corps was on too small a scale to show this monument clearly enough for reproduction. By courtesy of Mr. Frank Murray of Navan, I was flown over the area by Captain Kennedy of Weston Aerodrome on June 7th, 1953, and was then able to take photographs, two of which are reproduced here (Plate IV). The field was then under corn and the earthwork showed as a dark ring.

When attention has been drawn to its existence the earthwork is clearly visible on the ground. In fact, under favourable conditions of lighting and vegetation it may be seen from the Newgrange tumulus, which is about 800 yards distant.¹ The sections as drawn show so slight a rise for the bank in relation to the diameter of the earthwork that their publication is not practicable. It is, however, clear from these and from ground observation that one is dealing with what was originally a very large bank. On the east side a scatter of stone which was noticed on the ploughed surface may indicate that the rampart was stone-built but the stone here may be due to a north-south field fence which overlies the bank of the earthwork. This field boundary can be traced on the ground surface and it is just

¹The site is in Newgrange townland sheet Co. Meath, No 26, 13.1 cm. from and its location is on Ordnance Survey right-hand margin, .5cm. from top.

discernible on the aerial photograph. There is some slight suggestion that the entrance to the earthwork is at the south-east but, again, because of the existence of the field-bank, this can be no more than conjecture.

That the site was not previously recorded indicates that it was already levelled at the time of the first Ordnance Survey of the district. It does not appear on the first edition of the Ordnance Map (1837) nor does the field system represented by the field banks which can still be traced in this field.

The impression one has in walking over the site is that of a saucer-shaped area surrounded by a slight rise. This is due to the very wide spread of the bank causing a long inward slope towards the centre. Because of this gradual slope the position of the bank is difficult of definition on the ground, but the subjective element is avoided by taking the dimensions from the drawn sections. The east-west diameter measured between the crests of the bank is 125 m. and the north-south is 140 m. The width of the bank measured over the total spread of the material is about 60 m. Its average height at present is 1.5 m. At the south the bank butts on the steep slope beside the River Boyne and may in fact have been slightly damaged by erosion. There is no dip in the surface such as would indicate the former existence of a ditch nor did the quality of the growing corn give any such indication.

It seems, therefore, that the site must originally have consisted of a large bank surrounding a circular area; absence of ditch is likely though certainty on this is not possible without excavation. The purpose of the earthwork must also remain conjectural. Two possibilities present themselves: a ring-fort or a ritual enclosure. The size would be extremely large for a single-ramparted ring-fort, and there are some arguments in favour of the latter alternative. The near proximity of Newgrange and other tumuli would favour the suggestion and in this connection one thinks at once of the fort-like earthwork at Dowth. This is a great bank apparently without fosse, the diameter of the enclosed area being about 140 m. Macalister² suggested that this was "a kind of theatre in which some of the burial rites could take place." More certain examples of earthen ritual enclosures can be quoted: the Giant's Ring, Co. Down (surrounding a dolmen), Longstone Rath, Co. Kildare (around a grave and standing stone) and the bank-and-ditch monuments on the Curragh. The list could be extended, but perhaps it is more appropriate to mention the existence of another example in a passage-grave area—a ditch-inside-bank enclosure near Fourknocks on the Meath-Dublin border. In the field north-east of our site is the burial mound which Coffey³ named Tumulus A, and which he says "appears to have been encircled . . . by a vallum . . ." This

² *Archaeology of Ireland* (London, 1928), p. 126.

³ *New Grange . . .* (Dublin, 1912), p. 42 and frontispiece map.

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[PLATE IV.



Two aerial views of earthwork beside the Boyne at Newgrange, looking W. (upper picture) and W.N.W. respectively.

feature undoubtedly existed; it can be seen in favourable lighting conditions and it appears, though rather faintly, on an aerial photograph. Its diameter appears to vary between 110 m. and 130 m.—not very different from the newly discovered monument. In the suggestion of our site being a ritual enclosure one must include the possibility of its having surrounded a mound as at Tumulus A, but it must be admitted that no evidence of such mound is now to be seen.

One must remain content with indicating the possibilities; only excavation could reveal the purpose of this earthwork and tell us whether its intriguing position in proximity to the Boyne tombs is, in fact, significant.

Seán P. Ó Ríordáin.

PROCEEDINGS

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1953.

Meetings of the Society were held as follows:—

5. *July 14, 1953.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House. Dr. Harold G. Leask, *Past-President*, was in the chair. Paper: "A Fourteenth Century Monastic Estate in Meath" by Dr. E. St. John Brooks, *Member*.

6. *September 22, 1953.*—A Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House. District Justice Liam Price, *Past President*, was in the chair. Three Fellows and two Members were added to the Society's Roll. Paper: "The French Revolution in the Dublin Newspapers" by Professor John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University, Ohio, U.S.A., *Member*.

7. *November 3, 1953.*—Ordinary Meeting at the Society's House. Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *President*, was in the chair. Lecture: "The Aran Islands" by J. R. W. Goulden, M.A., *Member*.

8. *December 8, 1953.*—Statutory Meeting at the Society's House. Dr. H. G. Leask, *Past President*, was in the chair. One Fellow and nine Members were added to the Society's Roll. Lecture: "The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly" by Donal Nichol, Ph.D.

The following excursions were made:—

Saturday, July 11, 1953.—Fore, Co. Westmeath.

Saturday, September 19, 1953.—Kells, Donoughmore and Dulane.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CIVIL SURVEY, VOL. VIII: COUNTY OF KILDARE. Edited by Robert C. Simington for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin, Stationery Office, 1952. £2 10s. 0d.

The Civil Survey was a land survey, made between 1654 and 1656 for the purpose of finding out how much land was available in Ireland for distribution to the soldiers of the Cromwellian armies and to the merchants and others who had advanced money to pay for the campaigns in Ireland. The Survey for Co. Kildare, now printed, gives a short description of each townland into which the county was at that time divided, with the boundaries of the townlands, parishes and baronies. The details were obtained from juries of local residents in each barony, who gave evidence before Commissioners. It appears that some of the Commissioners also had local knowledge of certain parts of the county; for instance, they say that Edward Bermingham of Grange in the barony of Carbury was "returned a Protestant by the Jury", but "some of us who did know him took him for a Papist". The three Commissioners who sign the returns are S. Nichols, J. Peisley and Hen. Makepeace; their addresses are not given, but perhaps their local knowledge may account for the fact that the particulars given for some of the baronies are much more complete and accurate than for others; the baronies of Carbury and Clane are specially well described. The boundaries are often given in great detail with a wealth of local names. An interesting name is Attimacoris; this is *áit tighie maic Fheórais*, 'the place of the house of Mac Fheorais'; Feoras is 'another form of Piaras or Piers, and this was evidently the Irish name of Carrick Castle, which belonged to Sir Piers de Birmingham; it was sometimes called Carrickoris. It was Carrick, not Carbury, Castle that was the scene of the treacherous murder of the leaders of the O'Connors of Offaly in 1305, at a banquet to which they had been invited by Sir Piers.

The boundaries of Kilcullen barony are also fully given. There was a Rathwelkin here, as well as near Kildare town, and the position given for this Rathwelkin, on the northern boundary of Moortown, suggests that it was the name in use at that time (1654) for the ancient fortress site of Dun Aillinne. There are a great many local names among the boundaries here; they would repay close study, for Old Kilcullen is one of the oldest sites named in the Patrician traditions. "An ancient meare called Loregeday" ran round the boundary of the lands of Old Kilcullen on the west and south; we seem to have here the word *lorg*, 'a track or footmark', and the name may locate for us the boundaries of the early monastery which grew up round the church in which St. Patrick placed the bishop MacTail. Much of this old "lane of Loregeday" is still used as a road. The Survey mentions a place on it called Koinritegard, or Comterdegard, that is, *cómhgar a' tsagairt*, 'the priest's short cut, or near way'; this was evidently the old name of the road leading from Old Kilcullen to Ballysax; but why should the name have been given to the Ballysax road in particular?

In another name we perhaps find a trace of the presence of St Patrick himself at Kilcullen, for there was a place to the south-east of the old church, on the boundary of Toberogan, which was called Crottipatrick; this seems to suggest that there was a hill (*cruit*, 'a hillock') that was remembered in local tradition as a place where the saint had stood and perhaps surveyed the land. It was near the old road leading to Narraghmore.

The Civil Survey has preserved these old names from oblivion; they are not shown on the Down Survey map. The two surveys should always be used together; one would never suspect from the entries about Naas in the Civil Survey that the town wall was still standing in 1655; on the Down Survey map the wall is shown encircling the town on the north and east sides.

The volume has been edited by Dr. Simington with his usual care. It deserves to be closely studied by anyone who takes an interest in the history of Co. Kildare.

L. P.

BALLINASLOE—A HISTORICAL SKETCH. By Rev. Patrick Egan, C.C. Ballinasloe Tostal Council. 1s.

With this little history of Ballinasloe Father Egan sets a headline which could be imitated in many other Irish towns. Beginning with the Celtic and Norman periods, the author gives an account of the earliest inhabitants of the district round the present town and of the saints who introduced Christianity there. We are then told of the results of the Reformation and the Cromwellian Settlement. An account of the town is given and its development under the Trench family in which interesting information is furnished of the great Fair of Ballinasloe, and of its industries, such as the limestone quarries which employed one hundred and fifty stone cutters and supplied materials for buildings, not only in the town and in Co. Galway and Co. Sligo, but also for buildings in Dublin, Manchester and New York. The book has a description of the Arms of Ballinasloe, notes on places of interest in the neighbourhood, and is well illustrated.

HISTORY OF THOMASTOWN AND DISTRICT. By W. J. Pilsworth. Kilkenny Journal, Limited. 3s.

Thomastown has suffered from its proximity to Jerpoint Abbey, for, while many people visit the famous Abbey, few think it worth their while to delay long in Thomastown. Yet Mr. Pilsworth, in his history, has shown that Thomastown has much to interest not only the historian but also the ordinary visitor. The first three chapters are devoted to the history of Thomastown from the earliest times to the seventeenth century. Then, beginning with an account of Thomastown Corporation, its history is completed to modern times. Two interesting tours are described in which the author takes the reader for a walk round the town, pointing out objects of interest and giving interesting information about them. Three other tours deal with the neighbourhood of Thomastown. Useful appendices give lists of the M.P.s, the Sovereigns and the Clergy, and also lists of the principal inhabitants from Pigott's Directory, 1824, and from Basset's Guide, 1883. The history has a good Index of Places, and the illustrations by Canon Bentley are excellent.

THE LEGEND OF TARA. By Elizabeth Hickey. Dundalgan Press. 1s. 6d.

Excavations at Tara, which were started last year, have focussed attention on that historic site. Mrs. Elizabeth Hickey's "The Legend of Tara" is, therefore, very welcome, for, as she states in the preface, the book is not written for scholars but for the ordinary reader. Her purpose is to tell the ordinary reader something of Tara and the people who lived there. Accordingly she gives its story as we have it in our ancient chronicles without attempting any critical interpretation of it. Beginning with an account of the manuscripts dealing with Tara, we are told of the "Wooring of Etain," "The Saga of De Darga's Hostel," Cuchullain, the Feis of Tara and the Boru Tribute. Then come the Fianna, Cormac Mac Art, the story of Diarmaid and Grania, and Niall of the Nine Hostages. The concluding chapters deal with St. Patrick and the early Christian Kings and the Cursing of Tara. Finally, we are brought to the National Museum where we are advised to study facts by examining the "Later Bronze Age" and "Early Iron Age" objects, swords, rapiers, shields, golden torcs, bracelets and rings, only a fraction of the objects in use during the periods described in the legends. The book is well produced by the Dundalgan Press.

CLONMEL HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. 1. No. 1. "The Nationalist", Clonmel. 2s. 6d.

A new archaeological journal is always welcome but when it is the journal of a "live-wire" archaeological society it is doubly so. That the Clonmel Society is such a one can be judged from the accounts of the meetings of the Society given in this first issue of the Clonmel Journal. At these meetings subjects dealing with history and archaeology are discussed, objects of historical and archaeological interest are exhibited and described, and suggestions are made for the advancement of the study of history and the preservation of the antiquities of Clonmel and district. Besides accounts of the various meetings and discussions of the Society, the Journal has interesting and informative papers, such as "Early Irish Colonisation", by T. J. Moran, T.C., B.A., "Ancient Road Systems of South Tipperary" and "Church of St. Nicholas and its Precincts", by Patrick Lyons, F.R.S.A.I., and "Archaeology and the Farmer", by P. O'Connell, M.Sc., Ph.D. The Journal is well illustrated.

ARCHIVUM HIBERNICUM, OR, IRISH HISTORICAL RECORDS. Vol. XVII. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. 15s.

In the present volume of *Archivum Hibernicum*, Rev. Frederick M. Jones, C.S.S.R., edits the correspondence of Father Ludovico Mansoni, S.J. Father Mansoni was an Italian Jesuit and was appointed Papal Nuncio to Ireland by Pope Clement VIII. He set out for Spain en route for Ireland, in the autumn of 1601, and reached Valladolid. For various reasons he never reached Ireland but remained in Spain for a considerable time, always hoping that circumstances would permit his taking ship for Ireland. He was naturally the centre of Irish activities in Spain and the main channel through which contact was maintained between the Holy See and the Irish chieftains and ecclesiastics. Moreover, as Papal Nuncio, it was his duty to report regularly on Irish conditions to Rome. Father Jones publishes more than one-third of Mansoni's correspondence and gives a summary in English of each document. Father Jones also presents some of the Briefs granting Father Mansoni faculties for his mission. Father John Brady's extracts from eighteenth-century newspapers, which throw an interesting light on the ordinary life of the Church during the Penal Days, are continued as an appendix.

HITOTSUBASHI UNIVERSITY. Bulletin of Information, 1952-1953.

Good paper and beautiful illustrations of the University buildings and grounds enhance this Bulletin. The Bulletin gives full information about the University, its history, Administrative and Teaching Staffs, and its various Courses.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1953.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society held at the Society's House on January 27, 1953, the following were elected to their respective offices:—

PRESIDENT:—Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, Ph.D., D.Litt., *Fellow*.

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR LEINSTER:—G. F. Mitchell, F.T.C.D., *Fellow*.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY:—A. T. Lucas, M.A., *Member*.

HON. TREASURERS:—J. Maher, *Member*, and B. J. Cantwell, *Member*.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—Senator E. A. McGuire, *Fellow*, Dr. Françoise Henry, *Hon. Fellow*, and Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig, *Member*.

During the year eight meetings of the Society were held. The papers read and lectures given are listed in the Journal for 1953 at p. 207 and 1954 at p. 95.

The following nominations for President, Officers and Members of the Council for 1954 were received:—

PRESIDENT:—Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, Ph.D., D.Litt., *Fellow*.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY:—A. T. Lucas, M.A., *Member*.

HON. TREASURERS:—J. Maher, *Member*, and B. J. Cantwell, *Member*.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—Dr. T. G. Simms, *Member*; H. F. Kearney, M.A., *Member*; Dr. George Little, *Member*, and Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *Member*.

The foregoing nominations being in accordance with the Statutes and Bye-Laws and not in excess of the several vacancies, the persons named are to be declared elected to the respective offices for which they have been nominated.

The Council has nominated George B. Symes, *Member*, and R. E. Cross, *Member*, as Hon. Auditors for the year 1954.

Meetings of the Society will be held during the year 1954 as follows:—

Tuesday, January 26	...	...	Annual General Meeting.
„ March 2	...	...	Meeting for Paper.
„ April 27	...	...	Quarterly Meeting.
„ June 1	...	...	Meeting for Paper.
			Quarterly (Summer) Meeting.
„ September 21	...	...	Quarterly Meeting.
„ November 2	...	...	Meeting for Paper.
„ December 7	...	...	Statutory Meeting.

During the year eight meetings of the Council were held at which the attendance was as follows:—

PROF. SEÁN P. Ó RÍORDÁIN, <i>President</i> ...	5	†MR. R. E. CROSS, <i>Member</i> ...	3
DR. H. G. LEASK, <i>Past President</i> ...	4	DR. H. W. PARKE, <i>Member</i> ...	2
REV. DR. JOHN RYAN, S.J., <i>Past President</i> ...	1	MR. H. A. WHEELER, <i>Member</i> ...	5
DISTRICT JUSTICE LIAM PRICE, <i>Past President</i> ...	5	MR. R. DE VALERA, <i>Member</i> ...	3
LADY DOROTHY LOWRY-CORRY, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	0	MR. P. J. HARTNETT, <i>Member</i> ...	4
DR. E. MacLYSAGHT, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	0	DR. E. ST. J. BROOKS, <i>Member</i> ...	5
MR. G. F. MITCHELL, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	4	*DR. L. O'SULLIVAN, <i>Member</i> ...	5
DR. T. B. COSTELLO, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	0	REV. M. L. FERRAR, <i>Member</i> ...	2
MR. A. T. LUCAS, <i>Hon. General Secretary</i> ...	8	MR. J. R. W. GOULDEN, <i>Member</i> ...	8
MR. J. MAHER, <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> ...	3	MR. P. HEALY, <i>Member</i> ...	3
MR. B. J. CANTWELL, <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> ...	6	SENATOR E. A. MCGUIRE, <i>Fellow</i> ...	2
MR. H. E. KILBRIDE-JONES, <i>Hon. Editor</i> ...	4	DR. F. HENRY, <i>Hon. Fellow</i> ...	2
		B. MAC GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG, <i>Member</i> ...	7

*Co-opted 27th January, 1952.

†Co-opted 22nd September, 1953.

EXCURSIONS.

During the year the following excursions were made:—

April 25, 1953.—To Howth where St. Mary's Church and, by kind permission of Mr. T. J. Gaisford-St. Lawrence, Howth Castle and the megalith in the Demesne were visited. The party, which numbered 100, was guided by Dr. H. G. Leask, Mr. T. J. Gaisford-St. Lawrence and Mr. G. F. Mitchell.

June 2-6, 1953.—To County Cork with Cork City as centre. The party, which numbered 79, was welcomed to Cork by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society at a reception held in University College, by kind permission of the President of the College.

The following sites were visited under the guidance of Mr. John T. Collins, Professor M. J. O'Kelly, Professor Seán P. Ó Riordáin, Mr. Justin C. Condon, Mr. J. J. O'Shea, and Mr. Eamonn O'Neill:—Blarney (castle); Aghabulloge (ogham stone and holy well); Carrigadrohid Castle; Macroom Castle; Carrigaphoooca (stone circle); Ballyvourney (church, round house and fulacht fiadh site); Charles Fort; Kinsale Harbour; Kinsale Town; White Castle Creek (battle site); Ballycatteen (excavated ring fort); Barry's Court (castle); Cloyne (cathedral and round tower); Castlemary (gallery grave); Castlemartyr (castle); Youghal; Shandon Church and Cork Public Museum.

July 11, 1953.—To Fore where the party, which numbered 74 was guided by Dr. H. G. Leask.

September 19, 1953.—To Donoughmore (Round Tower), and Kells (High Crosses and St. Columcille's House). The party numbered 53 and was guided by Miss H. M. Roe and Mr. A. T. Lucas.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 6 Fellows and 49 Members were added to the Society's Roll.

Fellows.—Messrs. R. F. G. Adams, J. M. Barkley, B. Brennan, G. H. C. Crampton, Patrick J. McGill and Reverend Brother W. G. Coughlan.

Members:—Commdt. Oscar O'Herlihy, Miss Lucie Charles, Miss M. Smyth, Mrs. L. R. Butler, Messrs. W. Evans, W. M. Mair, H. O'Connor, V. A. Walker, P. A. Jackson, J. L. Ginnell, W. R. Hutchison, Dr. H. Charles, Sir Ernest Rowe-Dutton, Messrs. E. Rynne, C. Mac Mathuna, P. O'Clery, R. Hilliard, Donal McGrath, W. Bassett, K. P. Murray, G. J. Hand, M. J. Power, T. Hoyne, S. Ó Cuill, W. F. Nugent, R. Hannigan, Micheál Ó Failbhe, J. A. McClelland, J. G. S. Wilkinson, Mrs. M. E. Kempster, Mrs. G. L. Leask, Mrs. K. McCarthy Downing, Miss E. Herbert, Miss Anne Kelly, Tyrone County Library, Antrim County Library, Kungliga Biblioteket, Sweden; Reverend Mother, Our Lady's Bower, Athlone;

Reverend Mother Prioress, Dominican Convent, Sion Hill, Dublin; Reverend Mother Prioress, Eccles Street Convent, Dublin; Reverend Librarian, St. Patrick's College, Thurles; Mrs. Janet Boys, Dr. Eveleen O'Brien, Miss J. O'Mahony, Máirín Bean Uí Dhálaigh and An Bórd Fáilte.

Family Membership.—Professor Joseph Johnston, Mrs. Phyllis St. J. Brooks, Mrs. Iris Charles.

The deaths of 2 Fellows and 13 Members were recorded:—

Fellows.—R. S. Lepper, and Dr. J. J. FitzGerald.

Members.—J. F. Morrissey, J. J. Bulger, Mrs. V. Upton, Rev. Chancellor Otway Woodward, An t-Athair U. Ua h-Eigheartaigh, H. F. Day, J. McC. Robbins, Dr. C. H. Denham, Dr. R. Lloyd Praeger, Miss C. Dease, Professor M. J. Ryan, W. H. Gracey, Professor T. F. O'Rahilly.

The resignations of 2 Fellows and 43 Members were accepted.

The names of the following have been removed from the roll under Rule 10—they may be restored to membership on payment of the amounts due:—

T. H. Blackburn, Mrs. Charlotte Blindheim, Mrs. N. B. R. Bowen, Lieutenant General M. Brennan, Sean Brennan, Rev. P. J. Brophy, R. G. Browne, Dr. Phillip Carney, W. H. Christensen, D. Coffey, Rev. J. Coulter, Capt. G. S. Cox, Miss D. C. Crosthwaite, Peter Daly, Dr. R. P. Farnan, John Farrell, J. Flanagan, D. Geary, Mrs. A. St. L. Vere Hunt, W. T. Johnston, F. S. Little, Miss M. E. McElroy, M. H. McGurran, Dr. E. MacWhitè, Dr. G. Maguire, Miss B. Malet-Warden, Rev. B. Mooney, J. W. Moore, Miss M. Ní Eigheartaigh, Miss A. I. O'Hagan, N. F. O'Hagan, S. Ó Meallain, J. J. O'Meara, Miss K. Phelan, G. C. B. Poulter, Miss M. Prunty, E. G. Quin, A. A. Rackie, Senator E. R. Richards-Orpen, A. F. Roe, F. B. L. Roe, J. Rogers, Mrs. L. G. Rosbottom, Very Rev. F. Shaw, S.J., Capt. J. C. D. Thunder, T. L. Townshend, J. J. Waldron.

The losses to the Society by deaths and resignations amounted to 60. The number removed from the roll under Rule 10 amounted to 47 and the accessions amounted to 55.

The number of Fellows and Members now on the roll is distributed as follows:—

Honorary Fellows	...	...	9
Life Fellows	...	...	32
Fellows	...	...	91
Life Members	...	...	37
Members	...	...	559
TOTAL			728

FINANCE.

The total receipts from all sources during the year 1953, from subscriptions, dividends, sale of publications, excursions, rents and miscellaneous receipts amounted to £2,026 18s. 2d.

The total expenditure was £1,975 9s. 8d., as follows: Payment on a/c. for printing calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register £142 3s. 1d.; printing Journal, 1952, Part 2, printing and illustrating Journal, 1953, Part 1 and illustrating Journal, 1953, Part 2, £878 17s. 4d.; rents, salaries, insurance, stationery, excursions and general expenses, £954 9s. 3d. The Society holds investments of £100 Irish Free State 4th National Loan, £1,000 Defence Bonds, £280 Land Bonds, £155 Post Office Saving Certificates and £150 deposit in Post Office Saving Bank.

LIBRARY.

In addition to current periodicals the following publications have been received:—

The Siege of Clonmel: Tercentenary Souvenir Record, by P. O'Connell and W. C. Darmody, presented by the authors.

A study printed in Japanese of the Life and Work of Sir William Petty (2 Vol.), by Shichiro Matsukawa, presented by the author.

Hitotsubashi University: Bulletin of Information, presented by Shichiro Matsukawa.

Antiquities of the Irish Countryside (2nd ed.), by Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, presented by the publishers.

A History of Thomastown and District, by W. J. Pilsworth, presented by the author.

Ballinasloe: A Historical Sketch, by Rev. P. K. Egan, presented by the author.

The History and Associations of the Belfast Charitable Society, by R. W. M. Strain, presented by the author.

The Legend of Tara, by Elizabeth Hickey, presented by the author.

La Station Préhistorique des Aubes, by Maurice Allegre, presented by the author.

The Last Resting-places of Notable Irishmen, by J. J. Burke, presented by the author.

Belfast Museum and Art Gallery: *Report of the Committee for the Year ending 31st March, 1952.*

For Review:—

Irish Dialects and Irish Speaking Districts, by Brian Ó Cuív.

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EXCAVATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS IN ANCIENT IRISH COOKING-PLACES

By Michael J. O'Kelly, *Member*

DURING the summer of 1951 while we were engaged on the excavation of an early christian period round-house¹ at Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, Mr Próinséas Ó Ceallaigh, who had already given us considerable help, drew our attention to a site on his farm and invited us to investigate it. As it was very close to the structure we were then examining and as its appearance suggested another though smaller round-house, we determined to excavate it in the hope that the results would throw further light on the early christian settlement of the area.

As soon as the work commenced (in August 1952) it became clear, however, that we were dealing with a very different structure—an ancient open-air cooking-place of the kind called in Ireland *fulacht fian* or *fulacht fiadh*. The interesting results obtained directed our attention to the type of site as a whole and led on the excavation of four other examples in pursuit of comparative material and dating evidence, as well as to a search for parallels in the “boiling-mounds” or “burnt-mounds” of Great Britain. Since the name by which the structures are known in Ireland is taken from the early Irish literature, it was necessary to examine this source of information also. The results of all aspects of the work are embodied here.

Two of the sites examined were at Ballyvourney and the others were at Killeens, all in Co. Cork. For convenience of reference they will be called Ballyvourney I and II and Killeens I, II and III. Ballyvourney I comes first. After the excavation report there follows a description of the reconstruction of the site and of the cooking experiments then carried out. This is followed seriatim by the excavation reports on Ballyvourney II and Killeens I, II and III. The accumulated archaeological evidence is then discussed fully in conjunction with the literary evidence. Appendices contain the pertinent linguistic material as well as other information not given in the text.

BALLYVOURNEY I

The Excavation

As mentioned above, the site² had the appearance of a small circular house. This impression was created by a shallow saucer-like depression

¹O'Kelly: *J.C.H.A.S.*, LVII (1952), 18-40.

²Its exact location will be found on the O.S. 6" scale sheet Cork no. 58,

S.10 9; E. 38.0 cms. Townland: Gortnatubbrid; parish: Ballyvourney; barony: West Muskerry.

which appeared to be bounded at its edge by a circle of stone slabs the tops of a few of which protruded through the turf (pl. Va). Its situation lent credence to this view, for it lay on an almost level area at the upper end of a small picturesque glade shaded by steeply-rising, rocky and heavily wooded ground on all sides except the south-east, where the trees opened to give a fine view of the hilly countryside.

That the site was an ancient cooking-place became clear when our initial cuttings exposed the surface of a layer of broken sandstone. The friable nature of the fragments was obviously due to burning while inter-mixed with them was a considerable amount of charcoal. In due course it was found that the spread of burnt stone, and the structure with which it was associated, rested on a layer of natural peat. The peat had an average thickness of 10cm and its edge extended only a little way beyond the edge of our excavated area. In other words, it was a very restricted deposit which had formed in a slight natural hollow at the head of the glade.

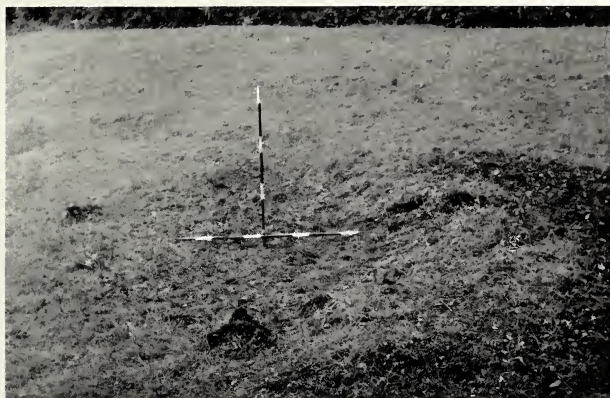
When fully uncovered, the site was found to consist of the following parts: A wood-lined trough which had been water-filled; a primary hearth; a secondary hearth; a stone-lined pit with flag-paved floor; an oval hut of wooden construction; a dump of broken burnt stone.

The Trough

The trough was somewhat wedge-shaped on plan and its long axis lay NW-SE. Measurements taken along the central axes give its dimensions as 1.8m by 1m. The maximum depth measured from the water line (determined by the height of the lowest point of the side) was 40cm. When the surface of the peat around it had been fully exposed, the edge of the pit originally dug to receive the wooden lining was determinable (fig. 1). On the SW, NW and NE sides, after the wood had been put in place, peat was packed in again to fill the space between the timbers and the sides of the pit. At one or two points a small quantity of moss³ had been used to pack open spaces between the timbers. On the fourth or SE side, the lining of the trough had been placed tightly against that side of the pit so that no packing was necessary here.

Since the trough was cut into wet peat, it filled naturally with water to the height of the general watertable of the bog. In fact it could not be kept empty or dry as we found—we had to make a drain to keep it empty while we were examining and recording its structure. Presumably a site on bog was deliberately selected as this solved the water-supply problem and furthermore, made it quite unnecessary to strive to make the trough watertight. Thus the construction was greatly simplified and was in fact reduced to the provision of a wooden structure which would keep the peaty sides of the pit from falling in. So far from being intended as part of a water-

³See Appendix III.



(a)



(b)

BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) Before excavation
(b) The trough as found

(a)



(b)



BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) The trough drained
(b) Vertical view of end of trough

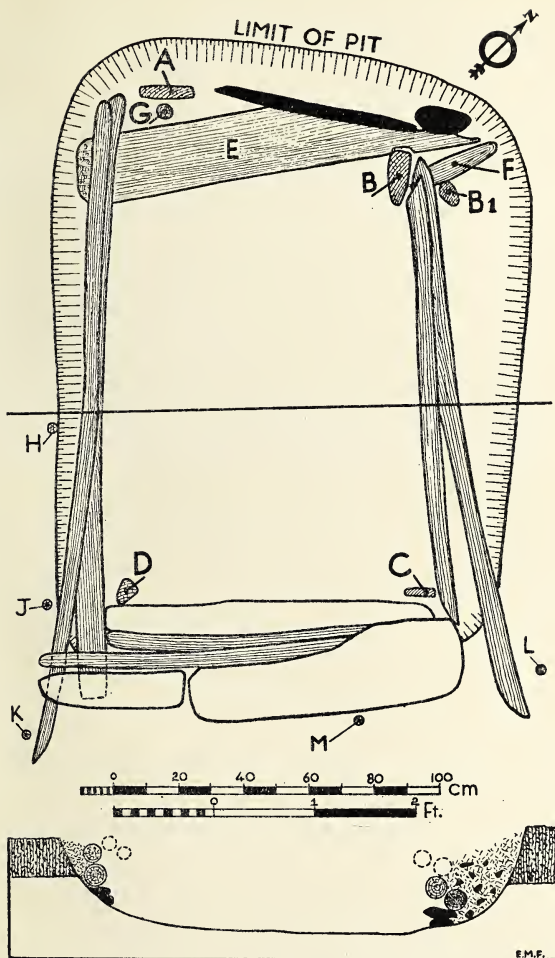


Fig. 1—Detail plan and section of the trough at Ballyvourney I

tight packing, the moss was therefore used as a coarse filter which prevented the peat from oozing through between the timbers but which *allowed* the water to run into the trough.

The two long sides of the trough (the SW and NE) were entirely of wood, the timbers used being straight branches of birch (*Betula*) and oak (*Quercus*) varying in diameter from 4cm to 9cm. In each long side there were four such branches and it was clear that they had been laid one above the other so as to form vertical walls. When uncovered, though much of the wood was well preserved and still in its original position, some of the upper timbers were broken and partially displaced. The bottom timber on each side rested on small chips of stone deliberately put in to form a firm bed for the wood (pl. VIa and fig. 1).

The two short ends of the trough were constructed partly out of similar timbers and partly out of stone. The SE end was made from two long slabs on edge, one above the other, running the full width of the trough, and two branches had been inserted at the joint between them (section XY, fig. 3 and pl. VIa). The NW end was formed from a single slab of stone standing on edge. Just in front of it an oak plank rested on the bottom of the trough and where it came in contact with the slab, the wood had been cut away to the exact shape of the stone so that the latter slipped down behind the plank and was wedged in place thereby.

At the corners of the trough there were vertical stakes of oak (*Quercus*) which had been split from a well grown tree and carefully shaped and pointed with an axe or adze of small size, the cuts of this tool still being clearly visible. These had been driven down into the compact and impervious white soil which occurred naturally below the peat and which formed the bottom of the trough. These stakes were long and substantial and were intended as stops against which to rest the ends of the long side timbers. At the N corner, the side timbers were mitred so that their skew-cut ends bedded exactly and firmly against the corner stake B (detail plan, fig. 1), and to keep them in this position another stake B₁ was driven down outside them. At the opposite corner of the NW end of the trough, two stakes A and G had also been used. These, as well as acting as stops for the timbers of the SW side, appeared also to have held short pieces of split oak which were inserted to fill the gap between the end of the stone slab and the side timbers. At the SE end, the timbers, instead of resting against the corner stakes C and D, were wedged apart by the stone slabs which formed this end of the trough.

As has been mentioned, the stakes were long heavy timbers, longer and heavier than at first seemed necessary. However, the reason for their strength became obvious afterwards. It was simply this, that when one walked on the soft peat around the edge of the trough, one's weight set up a horizontal thrust in the peat which would have driven in the long sides were they not stopped against these firm and unbending stakes. We proved that this was the correct explanation by making actual experiments. The stakes have been lettered on the plan (fig. 1) and their maximum dimensions are given in the following table.

	Total Length	Length in Ground	Width	Thickness
A	75cm	57.5cm	18.5cm	4.8cm
B	50cm	35.5cm	15.0cm	6.0cm
B ₁	47.5cm	32.0cm	8.0cm	5.0cm
C	61.0cm	44.0cm	11.5cm	3.0cm
D	55.0cm	40.0cm	6.5cm	6.5cm
G	25.5cm	12.5cm	4.5cm	3.0cm

Besides these there were five thin vertical stakes (lettered H, J, K, L, and M, plan, fig 1) driven down into the peat outside the edge of the trough. The purpose of these was not obvious.

The plank on the bottom of the trough at the NW end has been mentioned above. It had been made from an oak (*Quercus*) which had grown to an age of not less than 60 years at the time of felling, as indicated by the growth rings. The stumps of some oaks of this age recently felled near the site were found to be as much as 50cm in diameter, showing that those who constructed the trough were capable of handling a tree of considerable size. The trunk of the tree had been split lengthwise approximately along the centre line and the plank had then been split from one of the halves. The underside of the plank was the rough split surface (pl. VIIIb). The plank passed under the timbers of the SW side (plan, fig. 1) and beyond, though not under, those of the NE side. It must have been put down, therefore, before the SW side-timbers were laid. A notch or mortise had been cut out of the edge of the plank to accommodate the corner stake B and it was clear that the latter had been driven *after* the plank had been laid, because in going down the stake had broken and taken down with it part of one edge of the mortise. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that the timbers of the NE side also were not laid until after the plank had been put down.

The upper surface of the plank was quite smooth all over that part of it which lay within the trough, and the upper arris of its forward edge was rounded off (pl. VIb). Later when the plank was removed, it was found that this arris had remained quite sharp at the ends which lay outside the sides of the trough. There was no evidence in the form of tool-marks to show that the smooth upper surface and rounded arris had been obtained deliberately, and experiments carried out later (described below) convinced us that the smoothing and rounding off were fortuitous and due to wear. Both the upper and under surfaces of the SW end of the plank clearly retained the marks and cuts made by a small axe or adze (pl. VIIIc). The maximum dimensions of the plank were: length, 1.24m; width, 21.7cm; thickness, 3cm.

The lower layers of the filling of the trough (section XY, fig. 3) were composed of peaty material containing twigs, hazel nuts and leaves evidently fallen into the open trough after the site had gone out of use.

There were pieces of partly charred branches, perhaps from the last fire, lying on the bottom and they looked as if they might have been kicked in from the hearth, while still smouldering. The general debris suggests that abandonment took place before the beginning of autumn and it appears unlikely that the trough was ever used again. The site therefore seems to have been occupied during the summer only. The upper part of the fill was composed mainly of broken burnt stone which had spread downward from the highest part of the dump on the NW and which was covered by a thin layer of peat formed afterward. The surface soil was mainly hill-wash from the steep rocky slope to the N.

The Primary Hearth

Beyond the SW end of the trough a hearth was found. This was delimited by an arc of six low standing slabs set with the open side of the arc towards the trough (plan, fig. 2). The distance between the horns of the arc was 4.5m and from the edge of the trough to the back of the hearth, 1.87m. It was thus a large hearth indeed. The stones forming the arc were set not on the surface of the natural peat but on small quantities of white soil deliberately placed under and behind them (section XY, fig. 3). This white soil can have come only from the bottom of the cutting made to take the trough and its presence under the stones shows that the hearth was being set up as the pit was being dug or that it was constructed immediately afterward. This is what one would have expected in any case, but the point is stressed here in order to show that this was the *primary* hearth (it will be shown below that another hearth found at the opposite end of the trough was a secondary structure). Outside the back of the primary hearth there was a thin scatter of broken burnt stone, heavily impregnated with charcoal.

The area within the arc contained a deposit of burnt material 12cm thick through which was mixed a small amount of broken stone. The burnt material was thickest towards the NE side of the hearth and in this area appeared to have been laid down in two layers. This suggested that there had been two fires and that they had been kept more to the NE side of the hearth than to the other. After this, the hearth was deliberately narrowed by setting in the charcoal four stones on edge running from the back of the hearth towards the trough. The stones, shown by dotted lines in the plan (fig. 2), appeared to have formed a backing for at least one other fire lighted against their SW sides. The charcoal from this smaller area was distinguishable as a third layer resting on the two already mentioned.

After this third fire, four large paving flags (maximum dimensions varying from 0.75 to 1.25m) were laid down directly in contact with the charcoal and covering the stones put in to narrow the hearth. The first paving flag laid was that at the edge of the trough and it was partly overlapped by the second, the second by the third and the third by the fourth. Beyond the latter, the peat gave way to solid dry ground so that the purpose of the flags (and three other smaller slabs to the SW of them) was to provide a means of easy access to the trough over the wet bog.



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BALLYVOURNEY I

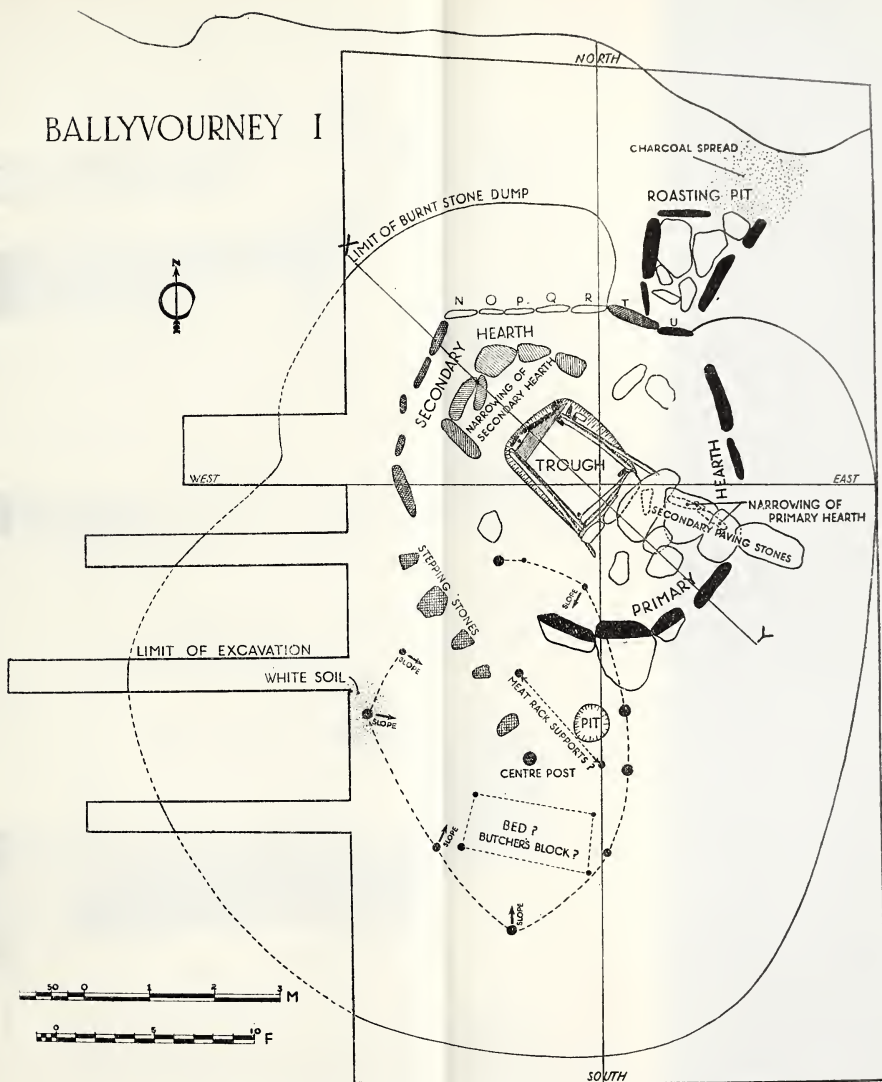


FIG. 2. Ballyvourney I, general plan

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BALLYVOURNEY I

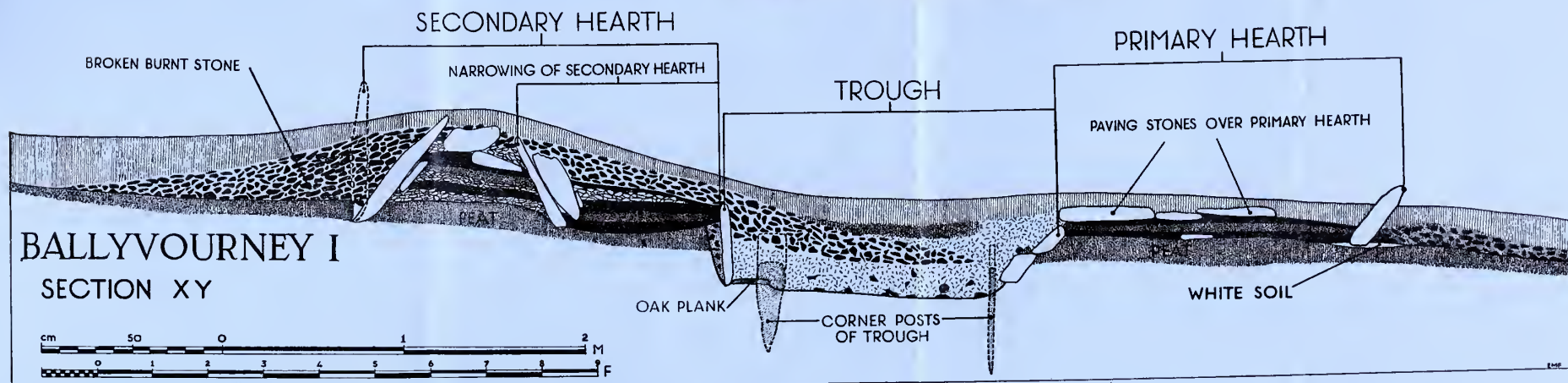
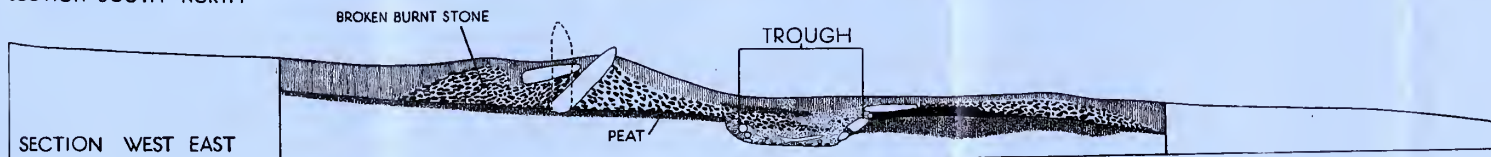
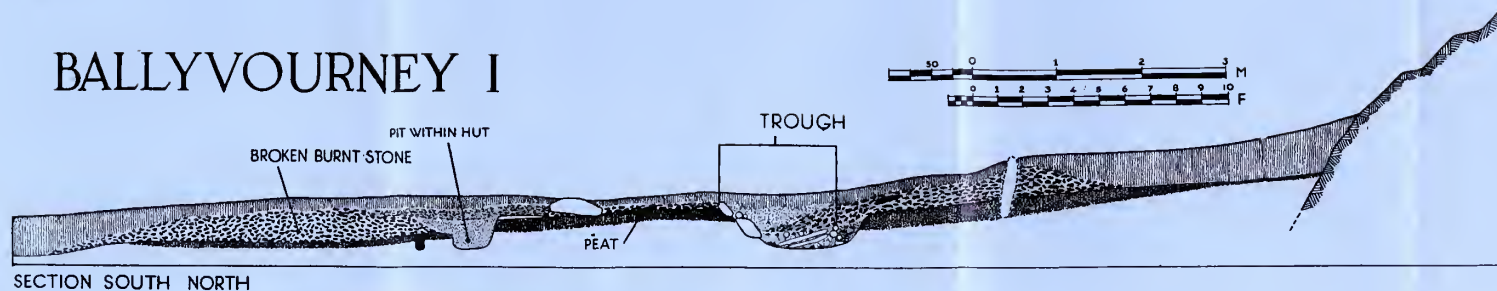


FIG. 3. Ballyvourney I, sectional profiles

BALLYVOURNE



After the laying of this paving, no more fires were lighted at the SE end of the trough. The reason for the abandonment of this primary fire-place may lie in the fact that one of the main structural timbers of the hut was set actually *within* the SW edge of the hearth and the obvious danger of its catching fire and so burning the hut, may have dictated the setting up of the hearth elsewhere. It is possible too that a change of wind may have suggested the move—to avoid the discomfort of smoke blowing across the area of activity around the trough.

The Secondary Hearth

In any event, the position chosen for the secondary hearth was at the opposite or NW end of the trough. Here another arc, this time of eleven slabs was set up also with its open side towards the trough. Each stone was stuck directly into the peat and no packing was used. The stones were not bedded in white soil as those of the primary hearth had been. The line of the arc had evidently first been set out by sticking short pieces of split oak into the peat. These oak splits were found standing vertically in a number of the sockets of the stones and must have been left in position when the stones were put in. If they were not “setting out pegs”, we can suggest no other explanation for them.

The distance between the horns of the arc was 4.7m and from the edge of the trough to the back of the hearth approximately 2m. Thus the secondary hearth was even larger than the primary one. In the final stages of the use of the site, this hearth had also been made smaller by the insertion of an inner arc of standing stones (plan, fig. 2) and in doing this, five contiguous stones of the original arc had been pulled up and at least some of them had been used to make the smaller arc. The sockets of these five stones (N, O, P, Q and R on plan, fig. 2 and pl. VIIIfa) were clearly found in the peat.

Between the inner and the outer arc, the surface of the peat was covered by a layer of stone chips which may have been waste left after the trimming and breaking of the stones used for the various purposes on the site (section XY, fig. 3). Above this was a layer of charcoal covered by a layer of burnt stone chips. These together appeared to represent the remains of the first fire. Above them was a further layer of charcoal and broken burnt stone, perhaps representing a second fire, followed again by the same thing (but with a greater concentration of charcoal) perhaps representing a third fire. Before the inner arc was put in position the area which it was to occupy was evidently cleared of accumulation and the stones for the backing then laid in position. Within the inner arc there were four distinct layers of burnt material which seemed to represent four successive fires. Now, if no cleaning out of the hearths took place, the secondary hearth had had its fires lighted *seven* times and the primary hearth *three* times (as has been described above). Thus, the fires were lighted *ten* times in all. If it be supposed that each fire represents a day's cooking, the minimum period of occupation of the site was ten days. There is however no means of knowing

whether or not there was an interval between each lighting of the fire—there may have been days when no cooking was done. If the fires were lighted on say alternate days, occupation would have gone on for about three weeks. Thus though the evidence is not conclusive, a possible estimate of the duration of use of the site is from ten days to three weeks.

On this short estimate however, the narrowing of the hearths is not easy to understand. In the case of the secondary hearth it might be suggested that for the last part of the occupation, the numbers being cooked for were smaller than at first, so that a smaller fire was sufficient. Or it might be that for these days roasting only was done since roasting requires far fewer hot stones as we later found by experiment. On the other hand, if the narrowing of the primary hearth and the setting up and narrowing of the secondary hearth be interpreted as evidence of separate reconstructions of the original set up, then the occupation of the site must be spread over at least four periods of use, and these probably in as many seasons. Indeed one might even go further and say that the charcoal layers in the hearths represent seasons rather than single fires too. In this event, the primary hearth was used for two seasons and was then narrowed and used for a third season; the secondary hearth was now constructed and used for three more seasons after which it was narrowed and used for a further four seasons—that is ten seasons in all (see pp. 122, 131 and 137 below).

The Stone-lined Pit

This structure was positioned on the NE of the trough and just at the end of the N horn of the outer arc of the secondary hearth (plan, fig. 2). Its long axis lay N-S and measured 2m overall. Its N end was 1·8m wide and its S end 0·8m. Thus it was wedge-shaped rather than rectangular in form. Its maximum depth from the top of the side-stones to the paved floor was 0·6m. In this corner of the site the peat was very thin and had been cut away before the stone structure was set up. The pit made to receive the stones was no more than a few centimetres deep and by reason of the rising configuration of the subsoil here there was no water-logging, the pit remaining dry. In the bottom of it six thin flags of shale were laid down to form a floor and the two long sides were composed of heavy slabs set on edge (pl. VIIb). These had tilted outward at an angle of about 60° with the horizontal and this would appear to have happened because of the insufficiency of the support outside them.

The northern end was formed of one slab on edge, but this did not fully close the end. There was an open gap of 0·7m wide at the NE corner (pl. VIIb). The southern end was closed by two slabs one of which (marked T on plan, fig. 2) was actually the last stone of the arc of the secondary hearth and it had not been disturbed when this hearth was narrowed. This stone (T) partly overlay the second closing stone (U) which must have been put in place first. This suggests that the stone-lined pit was already in existence when the secondary hearth was put up, and it is probable therefore that the pit was constructed at the same time as the trough. In the area

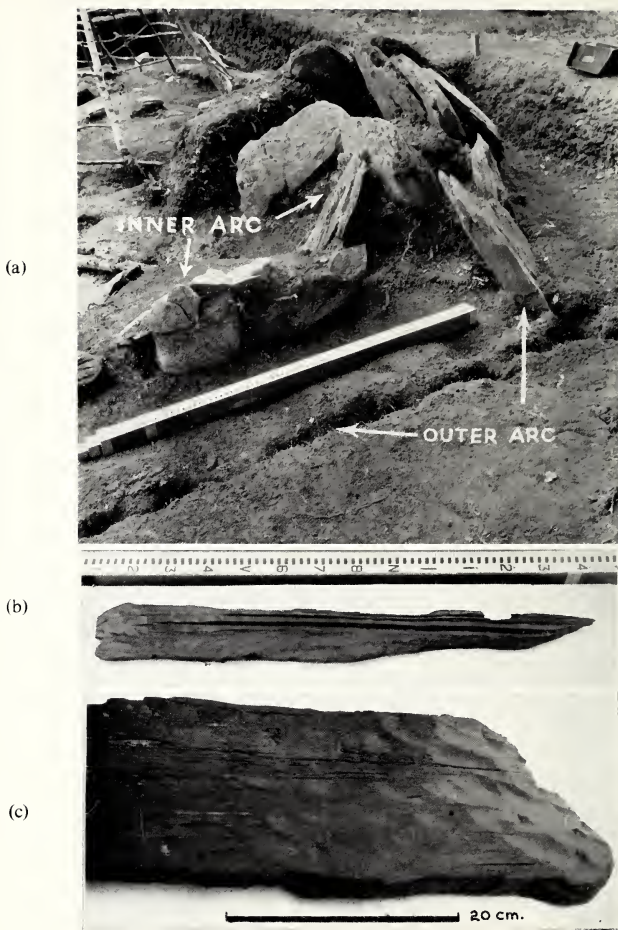


(a)



(b)

BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) The stepping stones
(b) The roasting oven



BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) The secondary hearth
 (b) The plank (underside) from the trough
 (c) Plank detail, showing tool marks

between its south end and the NE side of the trough, two flag stones had been laid on the surface of the peat to act as stepping-stones between the two structures.

Immediately N of the pit and filling the space between it and the steeply rising rock-face beyond, was a thick layer of fine charcoal. This had all the appearance of having been brushed out of the pit through the gap at the NE corner. Fires had therefore been lighted in the stone structure, a fact which was obvious in any case from the heat-cracked and burnt condition of the inside surfaces of the stones themselves, and the remains of these fires had been carefully swept out to leave the inside of the structure clean. On the analogy of the mediaeval wall oven (a form still used by some bread bakers) and of the smaller wall ovens still to be seen in some Irish farmhouses⁴, it is clear that our stone structure was also an oven.

Line of Stepping-stones

Removal of the broken burnt stone from the area south of the western horn of the secondary hearth uncovered a straight line of five stepping-stones which had been laid on the surface of the peat (pl. VIIa). They were thin slabs of shale with maximum dimensions varying from 25 to 50cm and they were set a short pace apart (the actual distances between their centres being from 50 to 80cm). It was obvious that the stones formed a pathway either to the edge of the peat or to some other structure lying to the south of the trough. Our cuttings were therefore extended in this direction and the work resulted in the discovery of a hut of wooden construction into which the stepping-stones were found to lead. Their presence determined for us the position of the doorway of the hut.

The Wooden Hut

The hut had been built of eleven posts, and of these substantial pieces of nine had survived. Ten posts delimited the oval floor area which measured 5.6m and 4.0m on its long and short axes respectively. These posts were not set vertically—they had an inward slope, all of them pointing towards a common centre where in due course a centre post was found. To ensure that nothing had been missed, the peat was now removed leaving the butts of the posts free-standing over the white soil. It could then be clearly seen that when the post-holes were being made they were cut not only through the peat but well into the white soil. Because the plan was an irregular oval and because the centre post was not at the actual centre, the angle of slope varied from post to post in the oval outline. The angles of five of the best preserved posts were measured as accurately as possible and with these angles and the distances from the stumps to the centre post, it was possible to calculate the height of the centre of the hut with reasonable accuracy. This height was thus approximately found to have been 3.5m and the diameter of the post itself was 11cm at the base. The other ten posts of the hut varied in diameter from 6cm to 12cm. Of

⁴ Ó Ríordáin: *J.C.H.A.S.*, XLVIII (1943), 154 ff.

the surviving posts, seven were oak (*Quercus*) and two were of Scots pine (*Pinus Sylvestris*—see Appendix III).

Removal of the peat revealed a number of other features. Within the southern curve of the hut was a group of large boulders occupying this position naturally and not placed here by the hut builders. They have been omitted on the plan for the sake of clarity but may be seen on plate IXa, b. Just NW of these stones an irregularly shaped pit had been dug out and back-filled again. The reason for this disturbance was not determinable, but it may be that this was the first position selected for the trough and after digging had proceeded somewhat, the boulders were found to be in the way, so the trough maker moved to a new site a little farther in on the bog. In any event the digging appeared to have been done *before* the hut had been built because in backfilling the hole a small amount of white soil was left on the surface of the peat on the western edge of the disturbed area, and the hole for one of the posts of the hut was later cut through it. After the hut had been built and the site had begun to be used, broken burnt stone was spread over the floor presumably to make it dry under foot. Eventually, even the stepping-stones were covered in this way. That the hut was built before this "floor" was laid down was shown by the complete absence from all the post-holes of any trace of charcoal or broken burnt stone. It would have been impossible to have kept this material out of the holes had it been lying about before the hut was built. It is clear therefore that the hut was built on the surface of the virgin bog at about the same time as the trough was being constructed and at the very beginning of the operations on the site.

The Bed or Butcher's Block

Within the southern curve of the hut four small post-holes (diameters from 5cm to 8cm) forming a rectangle were found, but no wood was preserved in any of them. The holes were vertical and had been entered deeply into the white soil, and this as well as their almost pointed bottoms, suggested that they were short pointed stakes driven down through the peat with the intention of making them firm in the solid soil below. The space enclosed within the rectangle was 2m long by 95cm wide, a size which suggested a bed for one person. This idea at first seemed all the more probable since the hut stood upon wet bog and to sleep within it on the floor would have been uncomfortable.

There is, however, the alternative possibility that the four stakes supported a couple of split oak planks to form a table or "butcher's block" upon which to dismember the carcasses and prepare the meat for cooking.

The Meat Rack

Within the eastern side of the hut two other vertical post-holes were found, both containing some of the original wood. The posts (12cm and 10cm in diameter respectively) had been well set into the solid ground below the peat. The distance between their centres was 1.85m. They did not appear to have been part of the structure of the house and experiments made



(a)



(b)

BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) The hut reconstructed
(b) The whole site reconstructed



BALLYVOURNEY I: The trough reconstructed

later confirmed us in this view. The most obvious explanation of their purpose is that they formed verticals with crutch tops into which would have been placed a horizontal timber, the whole forming a rack upon which to hang meat carcasses. The height of the fixture, if it were a meat rack as suggested, was conditioned by the slope of the side of the hut. Actual experiments made indicated an approximate height of 2m.

Between the rack and the wall of the hut, a small circular pit (maximum diameter 58cm; depth from O.G.L., 30cm) had been dug in the floor. Its filling of peaty material gave no clue as to its original purpose. Since it was cut into wet peat, it would have filled with water by seepage and would have remained full, so that it could not have been used for the storage of dry substances. Its proximity to the meat rack and the fact that it would have remained water-filled, suggests that it may have been dug for the purpose of providing water for use in connection with the preparation of the meat. This however is merely conjecture.

Dump of Broken Burnt Stone

Some broken burnt stone occurred in almost every part of the site. The main dump, however, lay on the rising ground to the west. Outside the back of the secondary hearth and running from there around outside the hut, its depth was 50cm to 60cm. From this high ridge the dump tailed off to the west and south. Its extreme limits have been shown on the plan (fig. 2). A calculation of its content based on the measurements of an accurate survey gave a result of 27 cubic metres of material. The stone was the local sandstone which was readily available in the form of boulders and outcrops all about the site. The boulders had been broken into pieces having an average maximum dimension of about 30cm as indicated by a number of burnt pieces of this size found in the dump. The rest of the dump, however, consisted of fragments averaging not more than 10cm in maximum dimension. Charcoal was plentifully mixed through the stone in all parts of the dump.

The Finds (fig. 4)

The finds from the site were few and of little interest from the point of view of dating evidence. All of them were of stone.

Spindle Whorl

This object was not found during the excavation but during tillage work in the season before, when in preparing the ground to the east of the site, the whorl was picked up. There is no evidence that it had any connection at all with the site.

It is roughly made from the local shale and a complete lamina has come off one face. The diameter is 3cm and maximum thickness is 4mm. The perforation which appears to have been made from both sides, is not quite central and has an effective diameter of 9mm. There is no ornamentation.

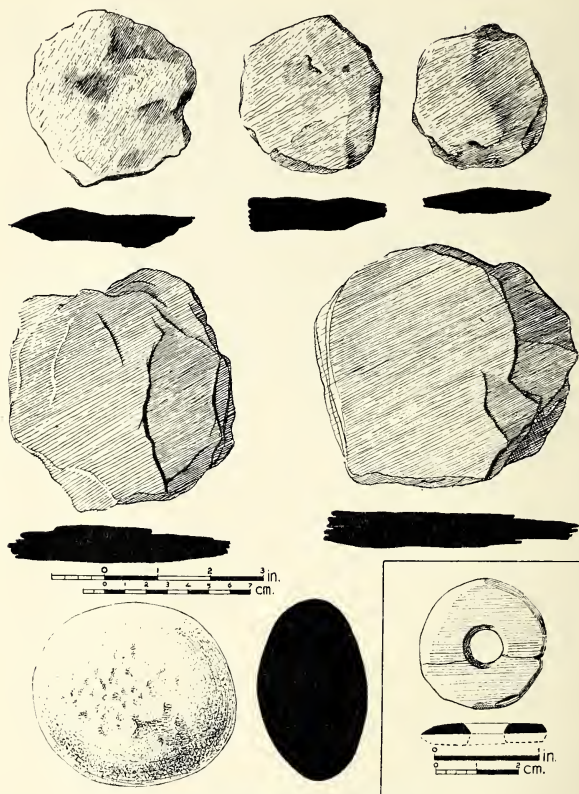


Fig. 4—Ballyvourney I, the finds

Stone Discs

Five stone discs were found, all of them coming from the broken burnt stone in different parts of the site. All of them are roughly chipped to shape out of the local shale and none shows any attempt at grinding down either on the faces or on the edges. The diameters vary from 12.5cm to 6.7cm

and thicknesses from 1cm to 1.8cm. As has been pointed out elsewhere⁵, they are of a type common to sites of many kinds from early bronze age times onward and their purpose is unknown.

Stone Pounder

In the filling of the trough a rounded water-rolled sandstone pebble was found. Two surfaces of it are abraded and pocked from use as a hammer or pounder. Its maximum dimension is 9.5cm.

Birch Bark

As the peat forming the original floor of the hut was being removed, sixty-four small pieces of birch bark (*Betula*) were found embedded in it. The pieces were in groups here and there and appeared to have been deliberately peeled off the wood, but no piece showed any signs of working (see Appendix III).

No bones or other food waste were found in any part of the site.

Evidence of Date

The site produced no archaeological evidence of date, but pollen analysis of the peat layers has shown that a date as early as the middle bronze age is possible.⁶

BALLYVOURNEY I

The Reconstructions and the Experiments

In making the reconstructions described here, each part of the work was timed in order to discover how long it would take to set up the complete cooking place. We found that two inexperienced men could do the whole of the work from the first cutting of the timber to the final completion in twenty working hours, but this included time spent in experimentation as we were trying to ensure an exact reconstruction of the original site. Practised and experienced men working to a well understood plan and fully familiar with what was required of the various parts, could have done the work in a much shorter time—in perhaps six to eight hours.

The Wooden Hut

As has been described above, it was possible to establish the height of the centre post of the hut reasonably accurately and with this and the other dimensions obtainable by direct measurement on the site, it would have been a simple matter to make a scale drawing showing the conjectural framework. But the opportunity to reconstruct the hut full-size over the original post-holes was too good to be missed and so we embarked upon the experiment.

When the butts of the original posts had been taken up for later

⁵O'Kelly: *J.C.H.A.S.*, LVI (1951), 81 31 and *P.R.I.A.*, LV, C, (1952), 48.
and f. notes 16 and 17; *ibid*, LVII (1952), ⁶See Appendix III.

examination, suitable young trees (mostly of birch (*Betula*) and alder (*Alnus*) these being less valuable than oak or pine) were cut and brought on the site. The trees were selected for straightness and length of trunk as well as for diameters corresponding to those of the original posts. The tree for the centre-post was one with a suitable fork or crutch near the top and all the side branches except those forming this fork were trimmed off. Its height to the fork when set into the centre post-hole was 3.5m as originally calculated. It was held vertically while a number of the outer posts, which also had been trimmed of their side branches, were being set in their holes with their upper ends crossing in the fork of the centre post. When all ten posts had been laid in in this manner, the structure was found to be completely stable. There was no necessity either to pack the post-holes or to put a binding around the fork at the apex of the structure! In either a drawing or a model, such a binding would almost certainly have been thought necessary and would have been put in. In fact however, it was found that without the binding it was impossible to throw the structure down either by concerted attempts to tear out the centre post or by heaving against the outsides of the sloping members, and this despite the fact that any one of the sloping posts could have been lifted out.

It is reasonable to assume⁷ that the outer covering had been made from the skins of animals, all the skins perhaps sewn together beforehand. If this were so, the complete cover could now be stretched tightly over the wooden framework and tied in place. Experiments made with canvas showed us, however, that no matter how tightly the cover was stretched, there was considerable inward sag between the rather widely spaced sloping posts. This led us to make the experiment of weaving in horizontally the trimmings of the trees, spacing them widely and running them alternately over and under in basket fashion. This was found very easy to do and it led us to another discovery. We found it most useful to insert one or more thin sloping members between the main sloping posts. Their lower ends did not reach or need to be inserted in the ground, nor did their tops need to reach the fork of the centre post.⁸ When the trimmings were woven under and over them and the main posts, the whole structure became a very rigid unit, and quite immovable when soil was packed into the holes around the bases of the main posts. Canvas now laid on to simulate the suggested original skin covering showed no sag (pl. IXa and b).

The Bed or Butcher's Block

It was thought worth while to try to reconstruct this fixture also. Four straight timbers with forks at their tops were obtained and cut so as to give the "mattress" a suitable height above the peat floor of the hut. They

⁷But see page 139 below and Appendix 1, 4b.

⁸Intermediate light members such as these could also be effectively used in other types of wooden structure and if their lower ends did not enter the ground,

they would leave no evidence which could be found by excavation. Perhaps this method of infilling was more widely practised than is generally allowed for, and if so, it would explain some of the very wide spacings often found in post-hole structures.

were set firmly in the four stake-holes, the plane of the forks forming the "foot" being set parallel to the plane of those forming the "head". Straight timbers running from head to foot were now laid into the forks to form the "side-irons" and short timbers were laid across them at right angles. Even though it was loosely constructed in this way, it was quite firm enough to lie upon, but to ensure that it should not collapse, the short cross-pieces would have needed binding.

Following the alternative interpretation and turning the forks of the corner posts through an angle of 90° , the ends of the structure were now made by laying in short cross-pieces so as to form supports for the planks which were laid down length-wise. We found that this arrangement did in fact make a perfectly satisfactory "butcher's block".

The Meat Rack

Here again, since the only evidence is that of the two vertical posts, speculation is not of much use, but the insertion of verticals into the holes made it quite clear that two posts in this position could have had no function as part of the structure of the hut itself, and in any case it was completely rigid without such supports. A cross-piece laid into their forks however, gave a strong rack which could have been used as a hanger for meat carcasses; and since it will be shown below that the site was used for cooking meat, this is a reasonable conjecture.

The Trough

Here again the original timbers—side-pieces, corner stops and plank—were taken out for fuller examination and the trough was reconstructed with new wood, straight birch and alder branches being used for the long sides and heavy split oak stakes for the corner stops. A replica of the plank was made from a rough sawn board and the whole was put together to copy the original structure as closely as possible. In making the two short ends, the original stone slabs were used (pl. X).

When the birch and alder branches were being put in, moss was used to fill any interstices between them, and soft wet peat was then packed in to fill the space to the sides of the pit. Four timbers were used on each side as in the original structure. The new trough was now cleaned up again and the drain, which we had made earlier, closed by packing it with wet peat. Water began to collect in the trough, but because the site had now been open for four weeks of dry weather and our drain had drawn off most of the water in the peat, it was necessary to assist the filling of the trough by drawing water from a nearby stream. This gave us the opportunity to measure exactly the liquid content, as owing to the irregularities of its shape, only an approximate figure could be arrived at by calculation. The content thus found was 454 litres (100 gallons approximately), and this cannot have been very different from the volume of the original trough.

Since the bottom of the trough was the cold ground and since cold water had a tendency to seep in from all sides, we wondered if it would be

possible to overcome this combined cooling effect and boil such a large quantity of water by dropping heated stones into it. The only way of proving with certainty whether or not it could be done was to make an experiment, and before this could be tried, it was necessary to reconstruct one of the hearths.

From our point of view, the secondary hearth was the more convenient of the two since the primary hearth had suffered more disturbance. Our drain from the trough had had to be cut through it. The stones of the inner arc of the secondary hearth which were not broken from the heat of the ancient fires were taken up and re-used by standing them into the empty sockets of the outer arc. In this way the outer arc was completely restored to its original form giving us the large hearth as described above.

Stones for heating were obtained by breaking up some of the sandstone boulders outcropping in the immediate vicinity, the sizes of the pieces used being approximately equal to the complete examples found in the dump of burnt stone.

The fire was now lighted in the hearth using dead wood collected about the site. Experiments had to be made to find the best way of heating the maximum number of stones without quenching the fire. We found that a careless arrangement of stones in the fire led to an unsatisfactory result; either the fire became black and smoky and failed to heat the stones properly, or even if it remained bright, the supply of well heated stones petered out. In the delay occasioned by this the water in the trough lost what ever heat it had already gained.

Our experiments showed that there were two methods which gave the desired result. Both took advantage of the large size of the hearth and indeed showed why such a large hearth was needed. The first method consisted in laying down a layer of stones over the whole floor of the hearth. Fuel was then built up high over them and a second layer of stones was laid over the fuel. About an hour after the fire was started at *one end* of the arc, the first red hot stones became available at this end and could be taken from the top and bottom layers. As they were being taken and dropped into the trough, the fire burnt round the arc until the other side was reached, by which time a new fire, if needed, could be set alight at the first end again.

The second arrangement was like that used in a brick kiln—the fuel and stones being arranged in alternate vertical “compartments”. The fuel was set alight at one end of the arc and as the fire heated the loosely built wall of stones next to it, the fuel beyond them caught fire and so burnt through from one side of the hearth to the other. The operator again followed the fire. Of the two, the first method was found to be the easier, but practice and experience made either method quite simple.

Different methods of taking the stones out of the fire and getting them into the trough were tried. A stick was used to poke the stones out and roll them into the water and while this could be done easily enough, the stones piled up in the trough at the end nearest the fire leaving the other end



(a)



(b)



(c)

BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) The meat wrapped in straw is
put into the boiling water
(b) The water continues to boil after the meat has
been put in
(c) The meat, still in straw, is taken out when
cooked

(a)



(b)



BALLYVOURNEY I: (a) Trough drained after cooking. Note the amount of stone it contained
(b) The boiled joint. Straw removed and carving begins!

empty and comparatively cool. This method therefore did not appear to be the correct one. A wooden tongs roughly made from springy green timber could be used by keeping the working end wet, but either this or a modern iron tongs brought the operator too near the fire and it became impossible to withstand the heat and smoke.

A long-handled shovel was found to be the best implement. The stones could be easily picked up on its blade from any part of the fire and the long handle enabled the operator to stand out of the heat and smoke. Also, the hot stones could be laid gently into all parts of the trough, thus heating the water evenly and avoiding undue splash or churning up of mud from the bottom. A spade- or shovel-like implement must have been used to dig the pit in the first instance and it could also have been used to put in the stones. If it were of timber, it would have been dipped in the water each time to keep its blade from burning.

Working in this manner we found that the contents of the trough (454 litres, 100 gallons) could be brought to the boil in 30 to 35 minutes and that once this point had been reached, few stones were needed to keep it boiling. Clouds of steam billowed up from the trough and the wet peat all around it became hot. This was a remarkable result and showed that our supposed difficulties regarding the cooling effect of the ground and of the cold water seeping in from the peat, were of no consequence! As the stones went in, some water was displaced over the lowest point of the side, but using really well-heated stones, a comparatively small number only were required so that not much water was lost in this way. A stone measuring $30 \times 15 \times 5$ cm put in red-hot kept the water in its vicinity boiling very strongly for 15 minutes and even after it had been in the water for 30 minutes, it was still too hot to handle.

As such a stone went in to the water there was of course a burst of steam and a furious bubbling, but contrary to what might have been expected, the stone did not immediately shatter into fragments. It developed cracks, but the pieces did not always come apart, and some stones could be taken out and used a second or a third time. The stones broke up most often when being handled—taking them out of the trough or putting them into the fire for re-use. A wet stone laid in to re-heat did not shatter nor did fragments fly out of the fire.

After each experiment, we drained the trough to examine its contents of stones (pl. XIIa). When those that could be re-used were segregated and set aside, there was each time a considerable residue of small chips on the bottom. The easiest way of cleaning these out was to scrape them on to the plank at the NW end and shovel them out from here. In this way one avoided digging into the bottom, while the trough was made thoroughly clean. Perhaps the original plank had been put down for this specific purpose. Scraping the stones on to it and then off it again would explain its worn upper surface and its rounded forward edge; and in ancient times the cleaning was more difficult as it had to be done while the trough was full of water.

Having established what appeared to be the probable procedure in relation to the management of the fire and the boiling of the water, our next concern was to cook an actual piece of meat. For this experiment a leg of mutton weighing 4.5kg (10 lbs approximately) was used. It was felt that a piece smaller than this would not give a fair test, while if such a piece could be cooked properly, all further doubts about the practicability of the method could be set aside.

The cleaned out trough was refilled and about an hour after the fire had been started, the first hot stones were put in. While the water was being brought to the boil, the meat was wrapped in a covering of clean straw and bound around with a twisted rope of the same material, in accordance with the ancient practice as related in one of the literary references⁹ to these structures. The purpose of the straw was probably to keep the meat clean and free of grit and chips of stone which would otherwise become embedded in it.

After 35 minutes when the water was boiling, the meat in its straw covering was laid into the centre of the trough (pl. XIa), and when it had sunk out of sight the putting in of the hot stones was continued, a stone every few minutes in a different part of the trough so as to keep the whole of the water simmering rather than boiling. This was kept up for three hours and forty minutes, a time based on the modern recipe of "twenty minutes to the pound and twenty minutes over".

By the end of this time, the surface of the water was covered by a scum of globules of fat mixed with ashes and fragments of charcoal, these latter items having gone in with the hot stones. The water itself had become opaque from the amount of mud churned up from the bottom and held in suspension in it. Seeing it thus, we wondered if the meat would be edible, but when taken out at the end of the stated time and removed from its covering of straw (pls. XIc, XIIb), it was found to be cooked through to the bone and to be free of all contamination! It had not become impregnated with the bitter taste of ashes, or of smoke, nor did it have the mawkish taste of the muddy water in which it had been boiled. Thus, we satisfied ourselves that such a trough made in the ground could be used effectively for the cooking of meat in the manner described in the early Irish literature.

After this experiment, the amount of broken burnt stone which had resulted from it was measured and found to be 0.5 cubic metre, that is approximately two thirds of the total volume of the trough. If this figure be taken as the average residue after each cooking and if it be divided into the total volume of the ancient dump, the result should be the approximate number of cookings done in ancient times—in this instance, fifty-four, a number which is also the number of days on which the site was used if cooking was done once every day. There are imponderables involved, however. The calculated volume of the dump includes an appreciable amount of matter which did not pass through the trough (charcoal, soil, etc.) and on this account the number of cookings errs on the high side. On

⁹See Appendix I, 1.

the other hand, if each stone was used more than once, the figure is too low. But if fifty-four be accepted as a reasonable average, then the ten to twenty-one day estimate of duration of use suggested above must be rejected in favour of our second figure of four to ten seasons.

The Stone-lined Pit

It now remained to test our belief expressed above, that the stone-lined pit had been a roasting oven. Accordingly the fire in the main hearth was again lighted and stones were placed in it to heat. At the same time a large fire was lighted within the pit itself and allowed to burn for one and a half hours. By the end of this time the heavy side slabs were heated through to the outside and what remained of the fire was drawn and added to the fire in the main hearth. The remaining ash and embers were easily brushed out through the gap in the north end of the pit and when its floor was quite clean, another leg of mutton (weight, 4.5kg or 10 lbs approximately) was laid in on the hot paving flags. It had no straw or other covering. Hot stones were now taken from the main fire and laid in loosely around the meat but not quite touching it. They were roughly corbelled in such a manner that the meat was enclosed within a rough dome of hot stones. It would have been easier to have cooked a far larger piece of meat—our joint was so small in comparison with the size of the oven, that it received little of the heat radiating from the side slabs.

After twenty minutes, it was found that the joint had developed a rich, brown, crisp, crust which had the effect of sealing in the juices. No suet was used and no basting was done. Again, it was allowed to cook for three hours and forty minutes, and during this time it was found necessary to change the covering of hot stones seven times only. This made it clear that for roasting purposes, a *small* fire in the main hearth was quite sufficient to provide the necessary hot stones, so that as mentioned above, this may explain the narrowing of the primary and secondary hearths.

Again, the meat was found to be excellently cooked and most tasty! Cooking had penetrated right through, and it was obvious that alterations in the frequency of changing of the hot stone covering could be made to produce different results at will—a rarely done joint or a more fully cooked one as desired. Also, it was obvious that both boiling and roasting could have gone on together since the roasting process required few hot stones from the main hearth.

BALLYVOURNEY II

This second cooking place at Ballyvourney was marked by a low oval mound with ill-defined edges (fig. 5 and pl. XIIIa). Its axes measured approximately 24m and 16m respectively and its greatest height above general field level was about 65cm. It was known that it had been ploughed over. Despite this, however, it was selected for examination because its

siting¹⁰ was different from all others in the district. These, as well indeed as the majority of such sites in the south of Ireland, stand on marshy ground. Ballyvourney II stood on the dry alluvium of the flood plain of the river Sullane at a point 46m back from the water's edge.

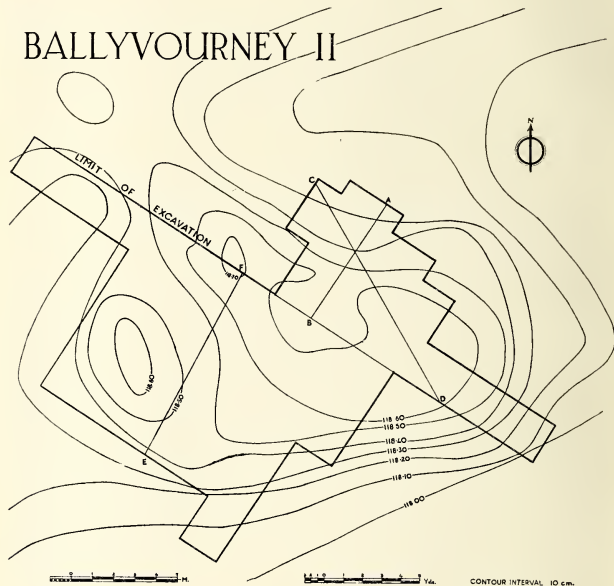


Fig. 5—Ballyvourney II, general plan

Excavation revealed that the site had consisted of the following parts: A pit which had contained a wooden trough; hearth; primary hut; secondary hut; mound of burnt stone.

¹⁰We are much indebted to the landowner, Mr C. Buckley, for drawing our attention to the site in the first instance and for permission to excavate it. He and Mrs Buckley gave us many facilities and much encouragement

throughout the whole of the work.

The exact location of the site will be found on the 6" scale O.S. sheet Cork no. 58, S.10.1; E.33.0cms. Townland: Shanacloon; parish: Ballyvourney; barony: West Muskerry.



(a)



(b)

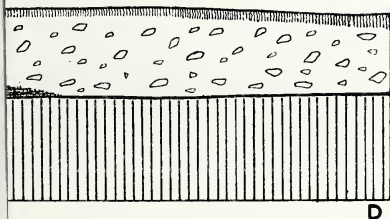
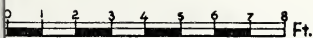
BALLYVOURNEY II: (a) Before excavation
(b) The pit and hearth



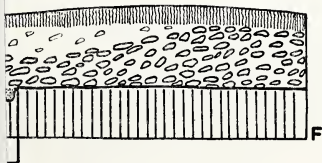
BALLYVOURNEY II: The hearth

To face pl. XIV]

B



OUGH  CHARCOAL SPREAD





BALLYVOURNEY II: The hearth

To face pl. XIV]

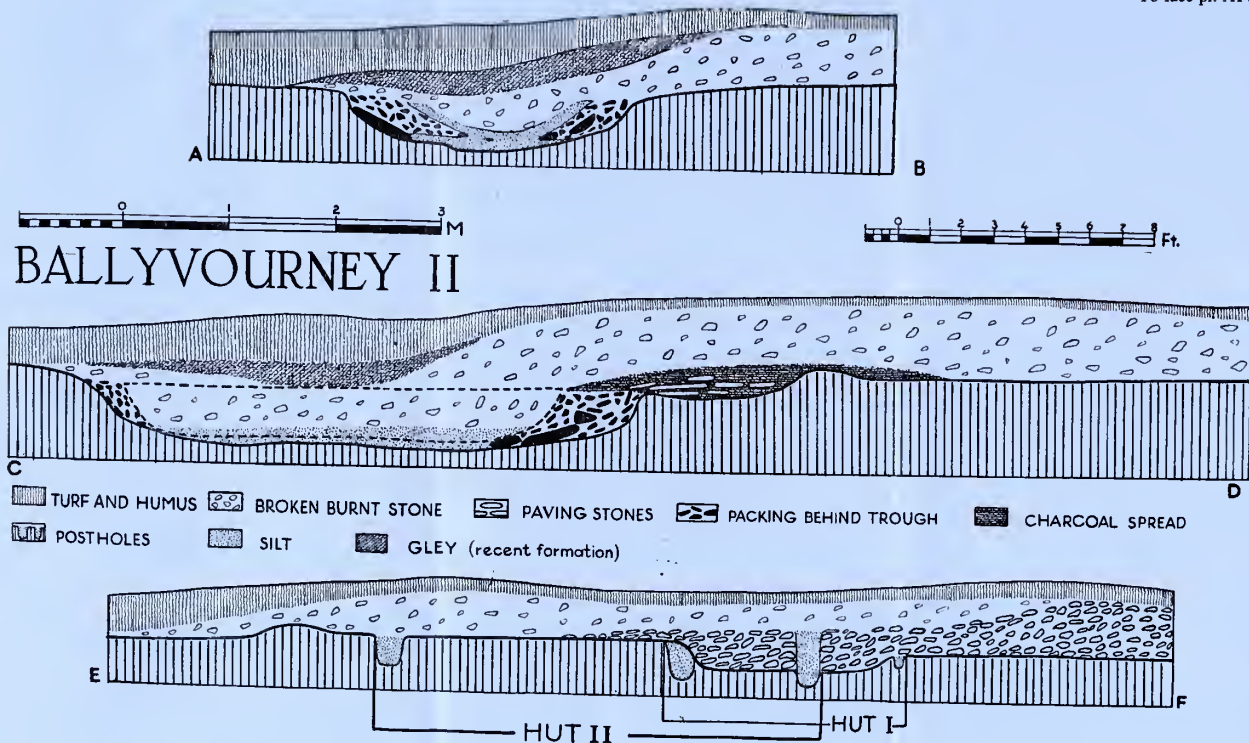


FIG. 6. Ballyvourney II. sectional profiles



BALLYVOURNEY



THE BALLYVOURNEY HOTEL
BALLYVOURNEY, CO. DUBLIN



The Pit

The pit was found near the northern edge of the mound, its long axis lying almost NW-SE. It had been cut into a subsoil containing a considerable amount of gravel and hence there was reasonably good natural drainage. Iron pan had cemented the gravel faces of the pit sufficiently to make it possible to find and follow the outline of the original excavation. The length of the pit measured from its NW end to the front edge of the hearth was found to be 5.1m and its maximum width was 2.8m. Its maximum depth measured from old ground level was 70cm. Careful excavation of the filling revealed that no piece of the actual wood of the trough had survived. Its complete disappearance must have been due to the fact that the ground was not water-logged.

There was no doubt, however, that a trough had formerly existed, for though the wood was gone, its "ghost" remained—a thin grey band of fine putty-like soil which, particle by particle, had replaced the timber as it decayed away. This thin band of soil was best preserved near the centre of the pit (section AB, fig. 6). The profile from which the section was drawn lay at an oblique angle to the axis of the trough and so the latter, represented by the grey layer, appears wider and flatter than it actually was.

The material within the grey layer was the broken burnt stone and soil heavily laden with charcoal which had collapsed from the mound before the wood had gone. As this filling was excavated, it came away cleanly from the surface of the grey leaving no doubt that this surface did in fact represent approximately the inside of the trough. Removal of the grey material along the length of the pit revealed the concave surface of the bed against which the outer face of the wood had rested. This was especially clear in the SE half of the pit. The bed consisted of flat slabs, small stones and gravel packed in around the trough after it had been set in position. The boat-like shape of the trough was best defined at the hearth end, where a greater deposit of iron pan had more firmly cemented the packing material, thus preserving for us a negative cast of this end of the wood. The bottom of the pit contained a thin layer of fine blue-grey silt washed into this position during the use of the site and subsequently.

The grey soil "ghost" of the timber shows beyond doubt that the trough here had been of the "dug-out" form and that its overall dimensions were 4.1m long by 1.4m wide approximately, a form and size which make it closely comparable with that found at Killeens II, Period I (see below). It is clear that even if ground water were present in sufficient quantity, it could not seep into the trough (cf. Ballyvourney I) since there were no open joints or other apertures through which it could pass.¹¹

The trough must have been filled manually from the adjacent river and it is surprising therefore that it was not positioned at the water's edge as was the case at Killeens II (see below). It appears unlikely that the river

¹¹It is possible of course that holes were bored in the trough to enable the water to seep in, but there is no evidence

of this from any of the sites which have produced dug-out troughs.

has changed course, for the direction of its flow in the immediate neighbourhood of the site is determined by large rock outcrops.

The Hearth

The hearth lay at the SE end of the trough (plan, fig. 7). It was horse-shoe shaped and its open side faced the end of the trough. When first constructed the old ground surface was scooped out perhaps to bring the floor of the hearth down to the level of the upper edge of the wooden trough, and the material thus scooped out was used to form a semicircular ridge around the back of the hearth (section CD, fig. 6). The "horns" of the hearth were marked by standing slabs carefully set in sockets which had been made to receive them. These slabs were heavily heat-cracked and burnt (pl. and fig. 7).

Dissection of the charcoal which filled and overflowed from the hearth revealed that the first fires had been lighted directly on the soil floor, but that subsequently, a series of three flagged floors had been laid down at different times over the charcoal of previous fires. It is probable that these three floors and the original soil floor represent not just four lightings of the fire but four *seasons'* use of the site. The overall dimensions of the hearth were: width, 2m, length from the edge of the trough to the back, 2.7m.

The Primary Hut

Under the SW edge of the mound and 6.5m distant from the trough, a small oval depression 25cm deep was found in the old ground surface, and around its edge were seven small post-holes (plan, fig. 7). The maximum diameter of the hollow was 2.4m. There was no centre post. This depression with its post-holes can be interpreted only as the base of a hut—admittedly a small one if it were a domestic structure, but quite large enough for use as a meat store as has been suggested in connection with the hut at Ballyvourney I. The framework of the hut might have consisted of light branches set in the post-holes, the upper ends drawn together and tied over the centre. There was no hearth within it, the only charcoal present being that which occurred as a natural concomitant of the burnt material of the overlying mound (pl. XV).

The Secondary Hut

After a period of unknown length, the primary hut fell into desuetude and the mounting pile of burnt stone spread its edge outward to cover the depression. Following this the secondary and much larger hut was constructed in a position which partly overlay the site of Hut I. That Hut II was the later structure is shown by the fact that one of its post-holes was cut through the layer of broken burnt stone overlying the floor of Hut I (see section EF, fig. 6).

Hut II, marked out by ten post-holes, was a roughly circular structure with a maximum diameter of 5m. Again there was no hearth and no centre

URNEY II



OUTLINE OF TROUGH

BURNT STONE

has changed course, for the direction of its flow in the immediate neighbourhood of the site is determined by large rock outcrops.

The Hearth

The hearth lay at the SE end of the trough (plan, fig. 7). It was horse-shoe shaped and its open side faced the end of the trough. When first constructed the old ground surface was scooped out perhaps to bring the floor of the hearth down to the level of the upper edge of the wooden trough, and the material thus scooped out was used to form a semicircular ridge around the back of the hearth (section CD, fig. 6). The "horns" of the hearth were marked by standing slabs carefully set in sockets which had been made to receive them. These slabs were heavily heat-cracked and burnt (pl. and fig. 7).

Dissection of the charcoal which filled and overflowed from the hearth revealed that the first fires had been lighted directly on the soil floor, but that subsequently, a series of three flagged floors had been laid down at different times over the charcoal of previous fires. It is probable that these three floors and the original soil floor represent not just four lightings of the fire but four *seasons'* use of the site. The overall dimensions of the hearth were: width, 2m, length from the edge of the trough to the back, 2.7m.

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BALLYVOURNEY II

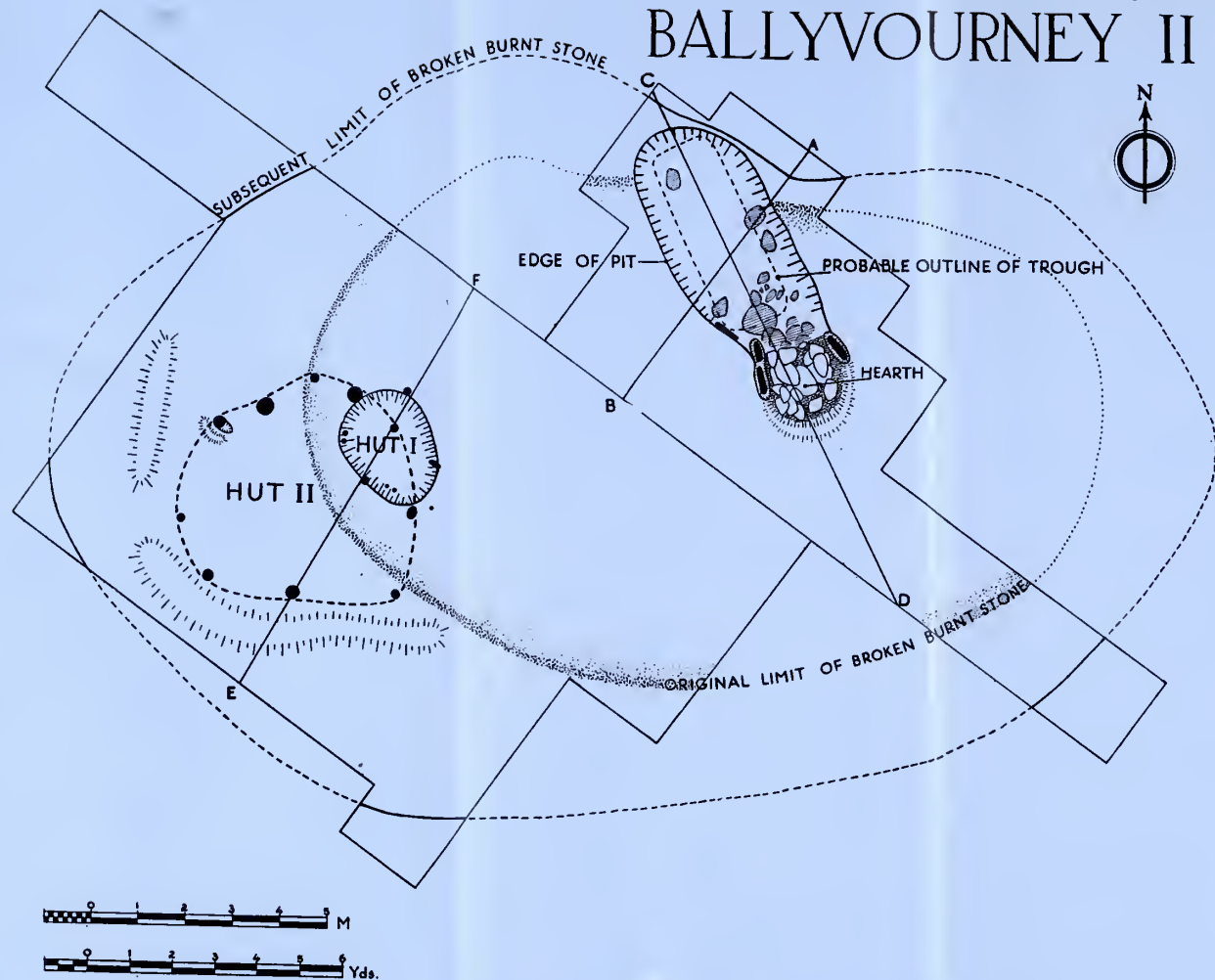
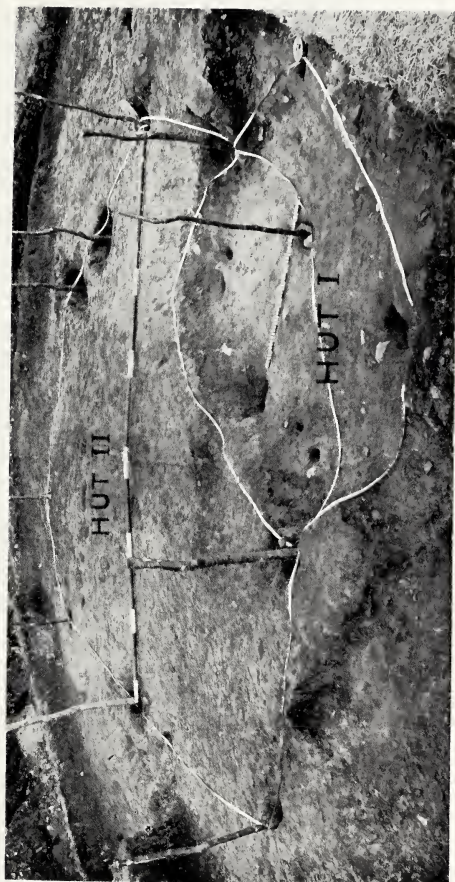


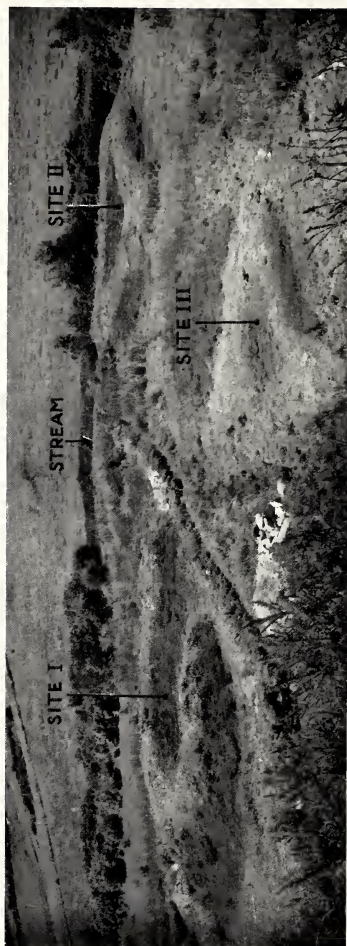
FIG. 7. Ballyvourney II, plan after excavation

BALLYVO





BALLYVOURNEY II : The huts



KILLEENS: General view before excavation

post. The post-holes were cut well into the old ground surface and were clearly defined; indeed one hole on the NW had at its edge a little mound of the material originally dug out of it. No other evidence was obtainable as to the details of the wooden framework, but though considerably larger than Hut I, its timbers could also have been bent inward and tied over the centre. Around its south and west sides were low ridges of soil deliberately so placed, but for what purpose, it is difficult to say. Since the ground was almost level here, they cannot have been intended as dykes to stop surface water from flowing into the hut.

The Mound of Broken Burnt Stone

The plan (fig. 7) shows the original edge of the mound of burnt stone. This was clearly defined in a number of the sections by fragments of the base of a sloping turf line which must have formed on an exposed surface. Ploughing had evidently skimmed off the top of the mound and spread the material downward and outward to the subsequent limit. It is probable, therefore, that in its original form, the mound had a marked hollow area over the position of the hearth and trough. Despite the ploughing, contour 118.60 (plan, fig. 5) indicates the remains of this hollow—so slight on the ground as to be hardly visible to the naked eye.

As in all the other sites which we examined, the material of the mound consisted of broken sandstone rendered very friable from the effects of heat and fragmented as a result of sudden quenching in water. Mixed through the stone was a very black soil composed largely of fine particles of charcoal. Ploughing had disturbed the upper part of the mound, but even in the lower undisturbed levels, no distinct layered arrangement of the material was visible (cf. Killeens I, below). A careful calculation (based on the contours) established that the mound contained 139 cubic metres of material (Ballyvourney I, 27 cu.m), a figure which shows that the site was used to a greater extent than Ballyvourney I.

THREE COOKING-PLACES AT KILLEENS

It was already known that an ancient cooking-place existed in the townland of Killeens but the site had not been described in print. Attention was drawn to it anew in 1953 when in the course of digging trial holes for a small private water-supply system, the land-owner uncovered a wooden trough in the hollow centre of the horse-shoe shaped mound. Little damage had been done to the structure, and as the wood was now exposed, immediate rescue work was necessary.¹²

A survey of the area revealed the presence of two other cooking-places immediately adjacent to the first and another at a distance of some 476

¹²We are indebted to Mr Craddock, for permission to excavate and for promptly reporting the find to us presenting the finds to the Cork Public and to the land-owner, Mr J. Walsh, Museum.

metres to the north-west. We were thus presented with an opportunity of examining a closely integrated group of sites—a welcome opportunity since similar groups were known in other parts of Co. Cork and the very fact of such grouping was in itself a matter requiring investigation.

The group lies on the bank of a stream in the marshy bottom of a broad valley and on ground composed of a 5 to 20cm layer of peat. Below the peat, an impervious bed of clay and boulders impedes the natural drainage to such an extent that though the stream has been artificially widened and deepened in modern times, the floor of the valley remains in a permanently water-logged condition. Outcrops along the sides of the valley show that the natural rock of the area is a shaley red sandstone.

The valley is singularly bare of woodland and bleak in appearance, but this cannot always have been so for the structural timbers used in the sites were oak (*Quercus*)—presumably cut nearby—and quantities of hazel nuts (*Corylus*) were found in the peat (see Appendix III).

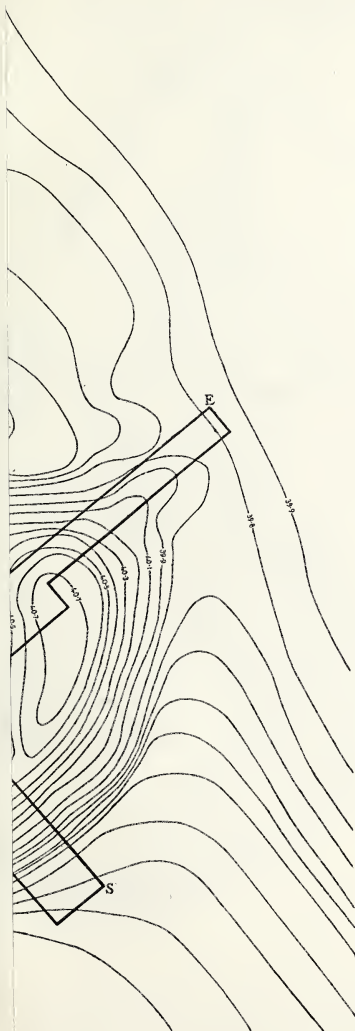
The contour plan fig. 8 and pl. XVI show the relationship of the sites one to another. It will be noticed that sites I and III stand a little back from the stream while site II is actually at the water's edge. In fact the spoil from the bed of the stream overlies its western edge and thus its surface appearance has been somewhat altered. The three sites were fully excavated.

SITE I

When first seen by us, this site¹³ was clothed in well-grown furze, but notwithstanding this, its main outlines were discernible—a horse-shoe shaped mound with its open side facing north. It had an average overall diameter of 16m and a maximum height above field level of 1.4m. The land-owner's recent digging had been done in its hollow centre, and this work had revealed the wooden trough. The filling of the latter had been cleared out, but the upcast lay beside the hole.

After the overgrowth had been cleared, the spoil heap lying beside the trough was "excavated" in the hope that, though disturbed, it might enable us to reconstruct the stratification of the filling of the trough. Reversing the order of layers in the spoil, it appeared that the bottom of the trough had contained peaty soil and some broken stone. Above this there had been much broken stone and charcoal-impregnated soil, and this in turn had been covered by humus and turf. This suggests that the trough had been cleaned out before final abandonment, thus allowing fine soil to silt in accompanied by vegetational debris and some collapse of broken stone from the surrounding mound. This had been followed by further falls of broken stone as the surface of the loose material gradually reached its position of rest. Growth of turf then followed.

¹³Exact position: O.S. 6" scale sheet land: Killeens; parish: St. Mary's-Cork no. 74, W.4.6; N.13.4cm. Town-Shandon; barony: Cork.



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KILLEENS

Co. Cork

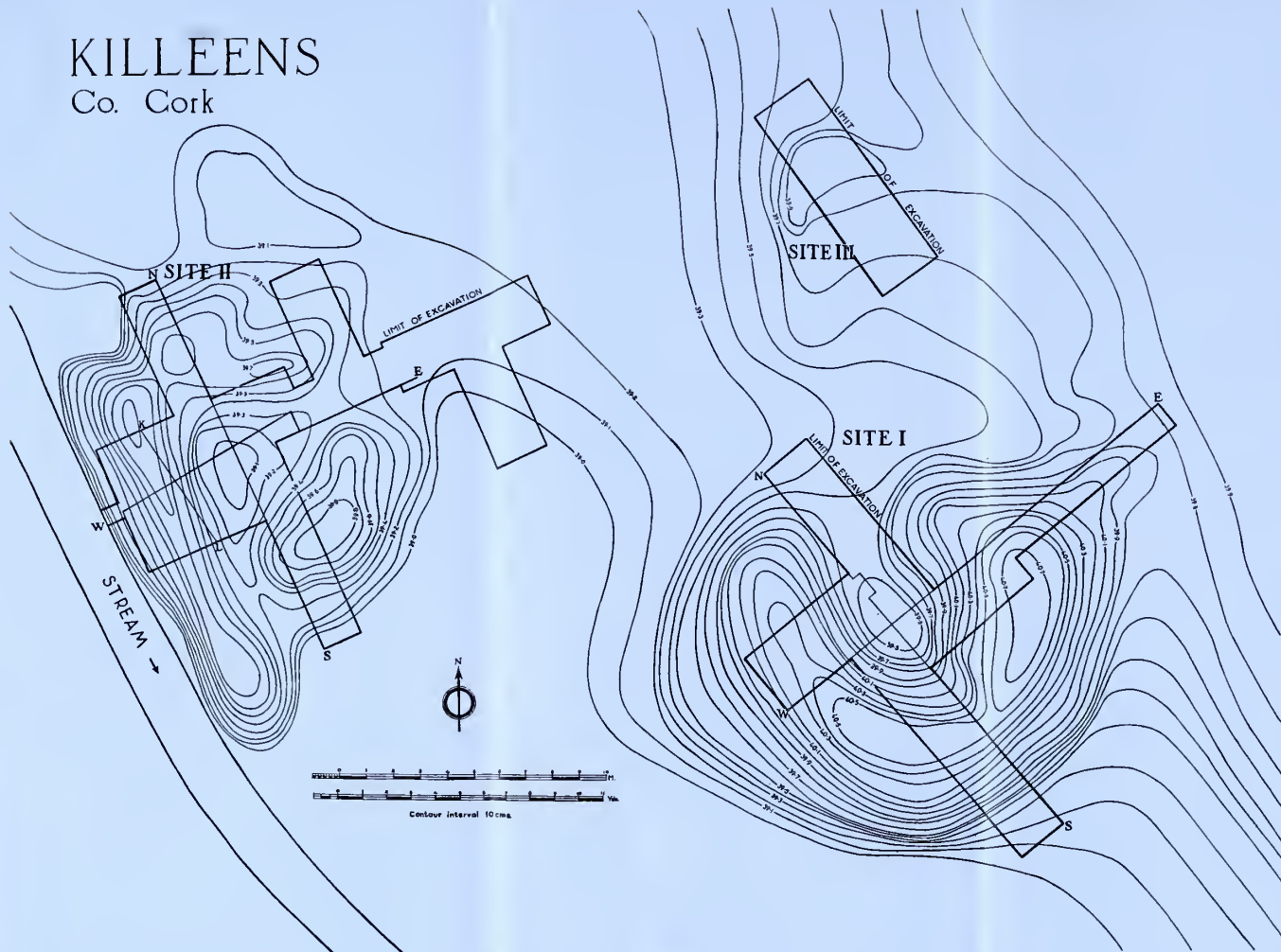


FIG. 8. Contour plan of Killeens I, II and III

KILLENS

Co. Cork



ND C



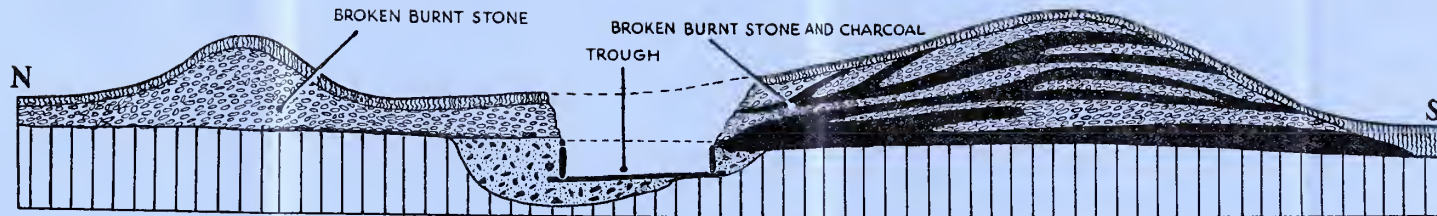
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KILLENS

Co. Cork



Q



KILLEENS I

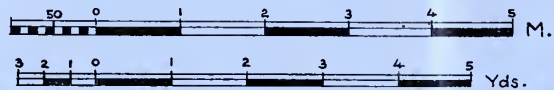


FIG. 9. Killeens I, sectional profiles



KILLEBRID



17

17

Excavation began with a trench 2m wide running from the south end of the trough outward through the mound. Similar trenches were later cut to the E, W, and N, and the whole central area around the trough was cleared down to old ground level. No objects were found in the whole of this work, nor, except for the trough, did any structure come to light. The stratigraphy of the mound was found to consist of layers of clean broken burnt stone and layers of the same stone heavily impregnated with charcoal (sections, fig. 9 and pl. XIXa), and it was at first hoped that a count of these layers would give an indication of the duration of use of the site, assuming that each of the charcoal-containing layers represented a fire base and that the overlying broken stone represented the cleaning out of the trough after a day's cooking. It will be remembered that we had attempted to make such a count at Ballyvourney I, but there our charcoal layers were contained within the arcs of stones set up to limit the hearths. At Killeens I, there was no formal hearth and we soon found that fires had been lighted at different times on all sides of the trough, even in the entrance passage through the mound.

As the site continued in use and as the broken stone cleaned out from the trough after each cooking piled up around its edge, it evidently became necessary to shovel it back from time to time, thus giving a "false" stratification to the mound and rendering it impossible to gain any reliable impression of duration of use from a study of the charcoal-impregnated layers. The greatest height of the mound above old ground level was found to be 1.65m.

The Trough

When the site was in use, access to the trough was gained through the open northern side where a passage was deliberately kept free of the broken stone shovelled out of the trough. At the inner end of this passage, an oak plank 66cm long by 16cm wide by 4cm thick lay on the old ground surface at the northern end of the trough. Its position suggests that it was laid here as a "kneeler" by someone bending over the trough. When the plank had been removed, the area immediately around the trough was examined so as to determine the edge of the pit originally dug to receive the wooden structure. All this time the trough was full of water, and to make it possible to continue the examination, a deep drain was made from the south end of the trough and run out along the floor of the southern cutting through the mound. This drain drew off almost all of the water and it was now possible to remove the packing between the sides of the trough and the edge of the pit. The packing consisted of peaty matter and stones, but here and there were bundles of moss¹⁴ especially at the corners of the trough. The edge of the pit followed a fairly regular line around the east, south and west sides, but there was a considerable extension at the north corner.

As can be seen from the detail plan (fig. 10) the box-like structure was almost rectangular in shape—its south end was a little wider than its north.

¹⁴See Appendix III.

The internal dimensions along the central axes were 1.76m by 1.13m and the maximum height of its side taken at the north end was 52cm. The floor was made of four planks laid side by side but not touching. Their north ends were cut off square, but at the south, three of them had broad asymmetrical V-shaped ends. Grooves had been cut across the planks at the southern end to receive the bottom edge of that end-board but there were no similar grooves at the north ends. At the outer edge of each outer plank, a chase or groove had been cut along the full length in each case. These grooves had been made to receive the lower edges of the two long side-boards. The latter were also V-shaped at the southern ends, and square-cut at the north.

Near the ends of the side-boards vertical grooves had been cut to receive the ends of the end-boards. When the sides and ends had been fitted together over the floor boards, stakes were driven down outside the long sides thus locking the whole structure together. An extra height of 7cm was now given to the sides all around by adding a framework of narrow timbers, those pieces over the long sides being locked in place by the end members. The way in which this was done will best be understood by reference to fig. 10 and pl. XVII. Oddments of timber lying about were thrown in outside the trough before the space between it and the pit-edge was back-filled.

The average thickness of all the planks was 5cm and all timber work was of oak except for one stake which was alder (*Alnus*). When the trough had been examined it was dismantled and taken out plank by plank. Experiments showed beyond doubt that all the planks could be fitted together to make two trees (pl. XVIIIb) and when this was done, the V-shaped ends explained themselves—the trees had been felled with an axe, the wood-cutter chopping from both sides and making a deep V-cut at the side to which he wanted the tree to fall and a shallower V-cut at the other. After felling, the unwanted upper portions were cut off square leaving the requisite lengths of trunk. When these were split into planks each plank had a square-cut end and a V-shaped end. Both trees were between 120 and 130 years old at the time of felling.

When all the wood work had been removed, the bottom of the pit was examined. In the area which had been covered by the northern portions of three of the floor planks, a loose filling of broken stone was found. As this was removed a small object of gold (see below) was found embedded in it in such a position (see plan, fig. 10) that it must have been dropped before the floor boards of the trough had been put down. Clearing out of the stone packing revealed a hollow, oval in plan, the floor of which sloped to the north and connected up with the extension out of that corner of the main pit (see dotted line on plan, fig. 10 and sections, fig. 9). As the bottom of this hollow was lower than the head of our drain, it filled with water and could not be emptied except by bailing. This suggested that the hollow had been a "sink-hole" made to facilitate bailing and to draw off the water from the main pit while the wood-work was being assembled in position. The floor boards extended, however, over



KILLLEENS I: The trough—general view and detail



(b)



KILLEENS I: (a) Detail of N end of trough
(b) Planks of trough assembled
to make up two trees

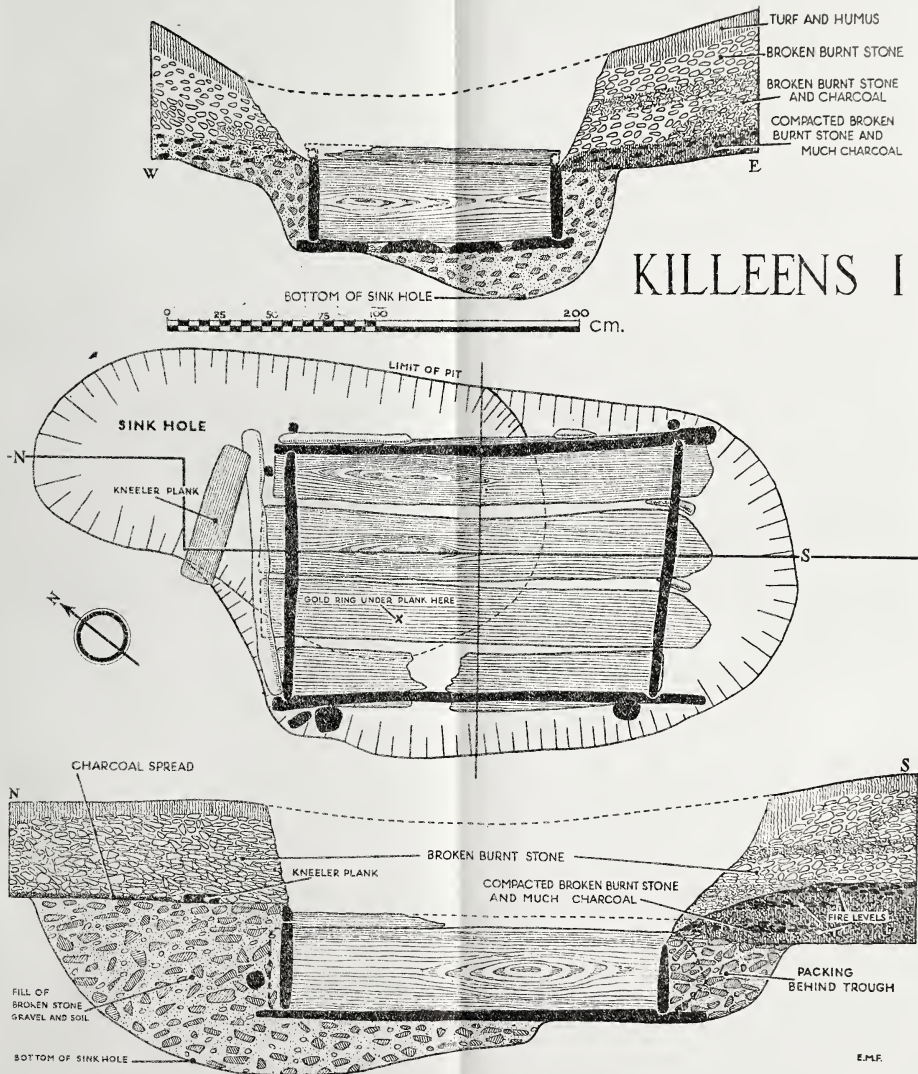


FIG. 10. *Killeens I, details of trough*



the shallower part of the hollow and some levelling up with loose material had to be done as the boards were being put in place. At this time the gold object must have been dropped.

The Gold Object

This was the only find which came to light during the whole course of the dig and when uncovered was in a fragmentary condition. Slightly more than half of it survived, but when complete it took the form of a ring—internal diameter 15mm, external diameter 22mm—which consisted of a core “plated” by covering it with a very thin gold foil. The core had decayed leaving little material for analysis, but it was possible to identify tin clearly. No trace of copper was found, which with tin might suggest a bronze core (see Appendix IV for chemical report). Under the microscope it can be seen that the foil, evidently flat at first was wrapped over the ring and was then rubbed until it tightly enclosed the core. Many of the wrinkles which developed in the foil on the inside curve of the ring are clearly visible, and compare almost exactly with similar wrinkles which formed in tin-foil applied by way of a test experiment to a ring of similar size. No date can be suggested for the object. Perhaps the ring described by Armstrong¹⁵ from Ballymacormick, Co. Down provides a parallel. This ring consisted of a copper core with gold plate.

Radiocarbon Examination

A sample of timber was taken from one of the planks of the trough and sent to Professor Libby at the Institute for Nuclear Studies, Chicago University, for examination. This resulted in a figure of $3,506 \pm 203$ years, or 1783 to 1323 B.C.

Duration of Use of the Site

It has been mentioned above that it was found impossible to count the number of fires lighted around the trough and that therefore no estimate of the duration of use of the site could be arrived at in this way. Our experiments at Ballyvourney I had shown that by the end of a single cooking, the trough had become about two-thirds full with broken stone. If, therefore, the volume of two-thirds of the trough at Killeens I were divided into the total volume of broken stone in the mound, the resulting figure should be the *minimum* number of times that cooking was done at the site, since all the broken stone in the mound had passed through the trough at least once. Using the contours which had been very accurately drawn at vertical intervals of 10cm, the total volume of the mound was calculated and found to be 198.225 cubic metres. Using the average dimensions of the trough, two-thirds of the volume was found to be 0.5424 cubic metres and the division of this latter figure into the former gives 365.459. On this basis, therefore, 365 cookings had taken place, but this figure can be regarded as an

¹⁵Cat. *Irish Gold Ornaments* (2nd ed. XIV. 235. N.M.D., Reg. no. 28: 1876. Dublin, 1933), p. 98, no. 458 and pl.

approximate minimum only, because the calculated volume of the mound, though done as accurately as possible, includes matter which did not pass through the trough—charcoal from the fires, and turf and humus which developed over the site since abandonment. Furthermore, the accuracy of the calculation is affected by consolidation of the mound over the centuries and the difficulty of establishing the exact quantity of stone in the trough at the end of any cooking. And finally, there is no means of knowing whether each stone was used more than once or not. The poor quality of the local rock suggests that few stones would have survived more than two heatings and quenchings and this is borne out by the very fragmentary condition of all the stone in the mound.

The calculation does show beyond doubt, however, that the site was used for a considerable period. If, for the sake of argument, we accept the figure of 365 cookings as correct and that one cooking only was done in the day, then the site was used either continuously for a year or for several successive summer seasons each of short duration. The latter is the more likely, for in wintertime, the valley floor becomes a morass, thus rendering operation of the cooking-place very uncomfortable indeed. That not more than one winter elapsed between each period of occupation is shown by the absence of turflines in the body of the mound. If we suppose that the site was used for a week each summer, the cooking-place had a life of fifty-two years.

KILLEENS SITE II

The second site lay to the north-west of Site I, and as has been mentioned above, at the edge of the stream. It supported such a dense growth of furze as to be almost unrecognisable as a cooking-place, and indeed we were not quite certain that it was one until a clearance had been made. When this was done the average overall diameter of the mound was found to be 15m, and its maximum height above field level 85cm, while a distance of only 10m separated its edge from that of Site I. The passage giving access to the hollow centre lay on the east and the western edge of the mound was disguised by the overlying elongated heap of spoil thrown up in modern times from the stream. Excavation revealed that the site had had two periods of use.

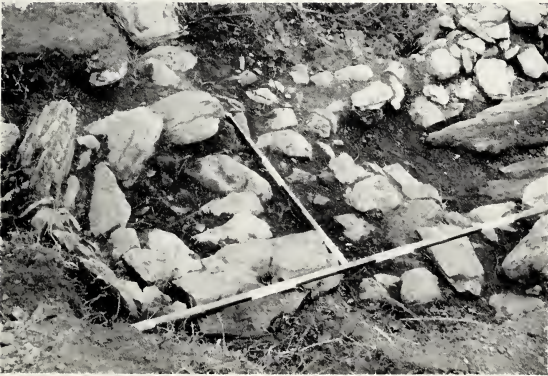
Period I

When activity first began, a pit 5m long by 1m wide by 31cm deep was dug into the ground, its long axis lying approximately NE and SW, that is, at right angles to the direction of flow of the stream. Into this was put a "dug-out" oak trough and the space between it and the sides of the pit was packed with small boulders (plan, fig. 11 and pl. XIXb).

In this position, the SW end of the trough lay almost at the water's edge and since it was of dug-out form, there were no loose corner joints or other apertures through which the water could seep and fill it, as was the



(a)



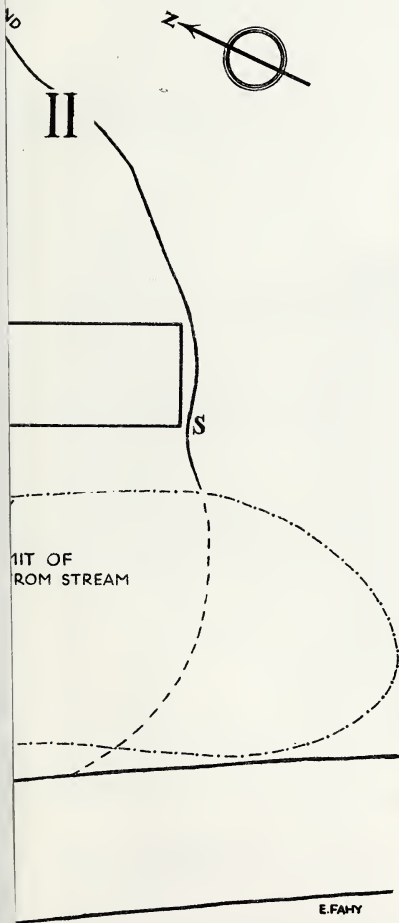
(b)

(a) KILLEENS I: Sectional profile of mound
(b) KILLEENS II: Hearth A, period I



KILLEENS II: The dug-out trough of period I and the pit of period II. Note corner stakes A, B, C, D

To face pl. XX]





KILLEENS II: The dug-out trough of period I and the pit of period II. Note corner stakes A, B, C, D

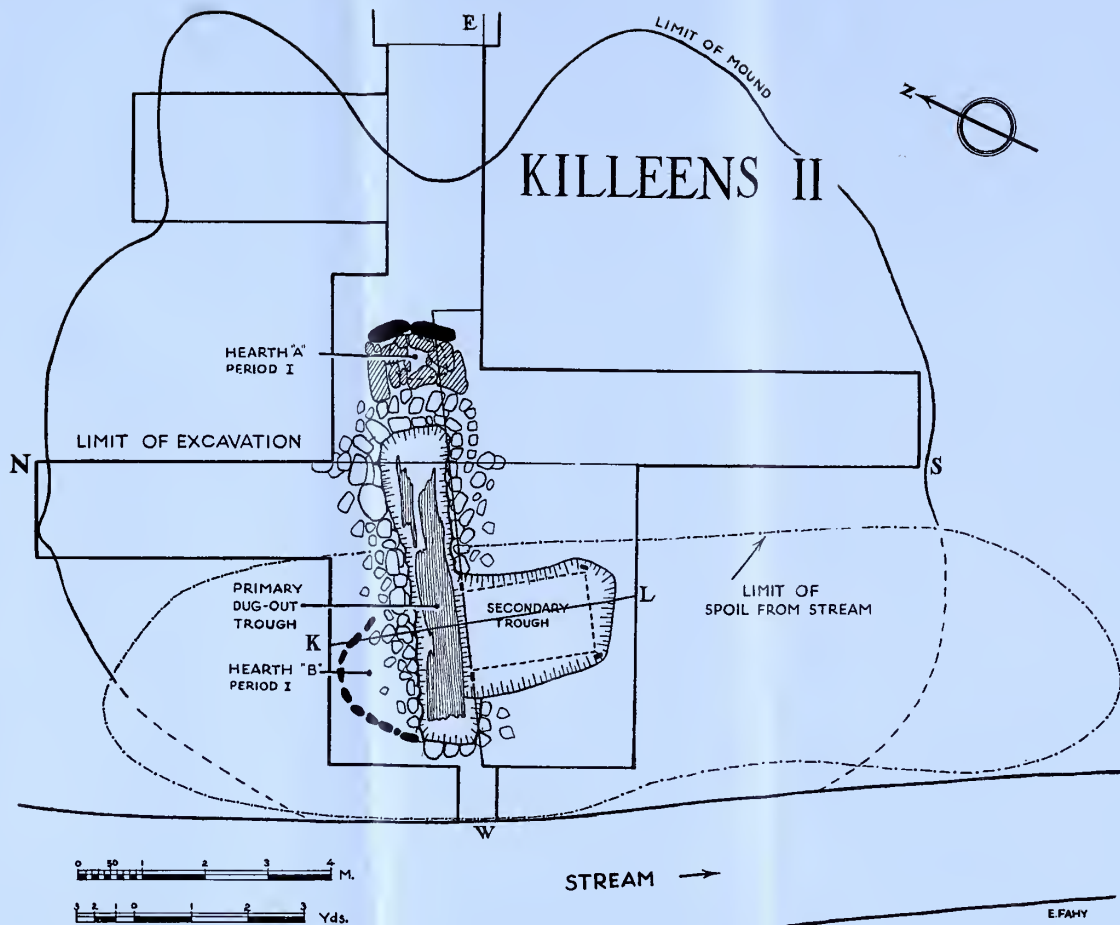


FIG. 11. *Killeens II, plan after excavation*



Hand-drawn map of the Hilfens region, showing the coastline and internal divisions. The map is oriented with North at the top.

case in the box-like trough at Site I.¹⁶ Its position with respect to the stream must, therefore, have been deliberately chosen so that by means of some small vessel it could be filled at will from the stream. The system here, therefore, differed completely from that found at Ballyvourney I and Killeens I, but was similar to that found at Ballyvourney II.

The deepening of the stream in modern times had so reduced the natural level of the water in the ground around the trough, that its sides and ends had decayed away, leaving only the bottom portion in a reasonably well preserved condition. The portion of the bottom of the trough which survived measured 4·1m long by 55cm wide by 15cm thick (pl. XX) and the tree from which it was made was at least 124 years old at the time of felling.

The principal hearth (marked A, plan, fig. 11) lay at the NE end of the trough—a very rough setting of stones and slabs on edge forming an arc 1·5m across the horns and 1m from front to back, while the floor was paved with roughly laid slabs (pl. XIXb). When first constructed the backing stones were laid on the old turf surface, but as the site continued in use, the hearth floor was reconstructed each time it had become covered with broken stone. Three such reconstructions were distinguishable and there was inconclusive evidence of a fourth.

A second hearth (B, plan, fig. 11) was found near the NW end of the trough, an arc of small boulders opening on to the long side of the trough—it could not have been set at the end since the stream was here. This hearth measuring 2m across the horns and 1m from front to back, appeared to have been used to a slight extent only and it had not been reconstructed. It is unlikely that it would have been necessary to reconstruct the principal hearth (A) three or four times during the one cooking period, and it therefore seems more probable that the reconstructions represent three of four different seasons. If we add in the hearth B, it seems reasonable to suggest that the dug-out trough was used for five or six seasons, and if these were consecutive summers, Period I lasted for five or six years.

The filling of the dug-out right down to the bottom was broken burnt stone, suggesting that the trough had not been cleaned out after it had been used for the last time (sections, fig. 12).

Period II

After an interval, of probably no more than a year's duration since no evidence in the form of a turf line was visible in the structure of the mound, a second trough was constructed beside the SW part of the dug-out. To put in this trough, a pit roughly rectangular in shape, and measuring 2·5m by 1·8m was dug with its north end so close to the side of the dug-out that the packing stones of the latter had to be removed for the requisite length of that side of the new trough. The bottom of this pit was 15cm below that of the pit made for the dug-out. The new trough was now constructed of planks as in the case of Killeens I, and these planks were held in place by means of corner stakes of oak driven well down into the undisturbed

¹⁶See foot-note no. 11 above.

ground. The stakes, which had been sharply pointed, were well preserved and averaged 40cm in length (see A, B, C, D in pl. XX).

The four corner stakes only remained in position—there was no trace of the planks which had formed the sides of the trough. Since the stakes were perfectly preserved, the complete disappearance of the side planks cannot be due to decay, especially since at this lower level and despite the modern drainage work on the stream, the soil was permanently waterlogged. The planks must therefore have been removed by the users when they were finally abandoning the site. Its detailed structure is therefore unknown, but using the corner stakes as a guide, its dimensions must have approximated to 2.1m by 1.4m and the existing height of the stakes over the floor of the pit, establish a minimum height for the side of the trough of 28cm. On the other hand it can be adduced from the stratification that the sides of the trough must have been approximately 50cm high in order to bring them level with the then existing ground surface. This height of 50cm corresponds almost exactly with that of the trough in Site I. The secondary trough was set lower in the soil than the primary dug-out one, and being plank-built, water was able to seep in to fill it. Manual filling from the stream was therefore unnecessary.

When the planks had been removed in ancient times, the pit stood open and waterfilled for some considerable time. On the bottom was a thin layer of fine silt covered by a layer of twigs, leaves and hazel nuts and this in turn was covered by peat. Above the peat lay the broken burnt stone which slipped down from the highest point of the mound on the SE. No formal hearth site had been set up for use with this second trough; fires were lighted here and there around its edge.

Since the troughs were not sufficiently well preserved, a calculation of the minimum duration of use of the site based on the relative volumes of the troughs and of the broken burnt stone in the mound, could not be made with any accuracy. However, the volume of stone in the mound was found to be sixty-seven cubic metres, that is, it had a volume considerably smaller than that of Site I, a fact which proves that Site II was used for a much shorter time than Site I.

No finds were made and therefore there was no archaeological means of assessing the date of the site.

Radiocarbon Examination

A sample of timber taken from the best preserved part of the dug-out trough was sent to Professor Libby at the Institute for Nuclear Studies, Chicago University, for examination. This resulted in a measurement of $3,713 \pm 270$ years, that is, 2030 to 1490 B.C., or early bronze age.

KILLEENS SITE III

It will be seen from the countour plan and pl. XVI that Site III lay to the north of Site I and that it was distinguishable on the ground as a very

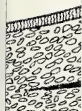
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OF

1111

4



ROUGH

al profiles

ground. The stakes, which had been sharply pointed, were well preserved and averaged 40cm in length (see A, B, C, D in pl. XX).

The four corner stakes only remained in position—there was no trace of the planks which had formed the sides of the trough. Since the stakes were perfectly preserved, the complete disappearance of the side planks cannot be due to decay, especially since at this lower level and despite the modern drainage work on the stream, the soil was permanently waterlogged. The planks must therefore have been removed by the users when they were finally abandoning the site. Its detailed structure is therefore unknown, but using the corner stakes as a guide, its dimensions must have approximated to 2.1m by 1.4m and the existing height of the stakes over the floor of the pit, establish a minimum height for the side of the trough of 28cm. On the other hand it can be adduced from the stratification that the sides of the trough must have been approximately 50cm high in order to bring them level with the then existing ground surface. This height of 50cm corresponds almost exactly with that of the trough in Site I. The secondary trough was set lower in the soil than the primary dug-out one, and being plank-built, water was able to seep in to fill it. Manual filling from the stream was therefore unnecessary.

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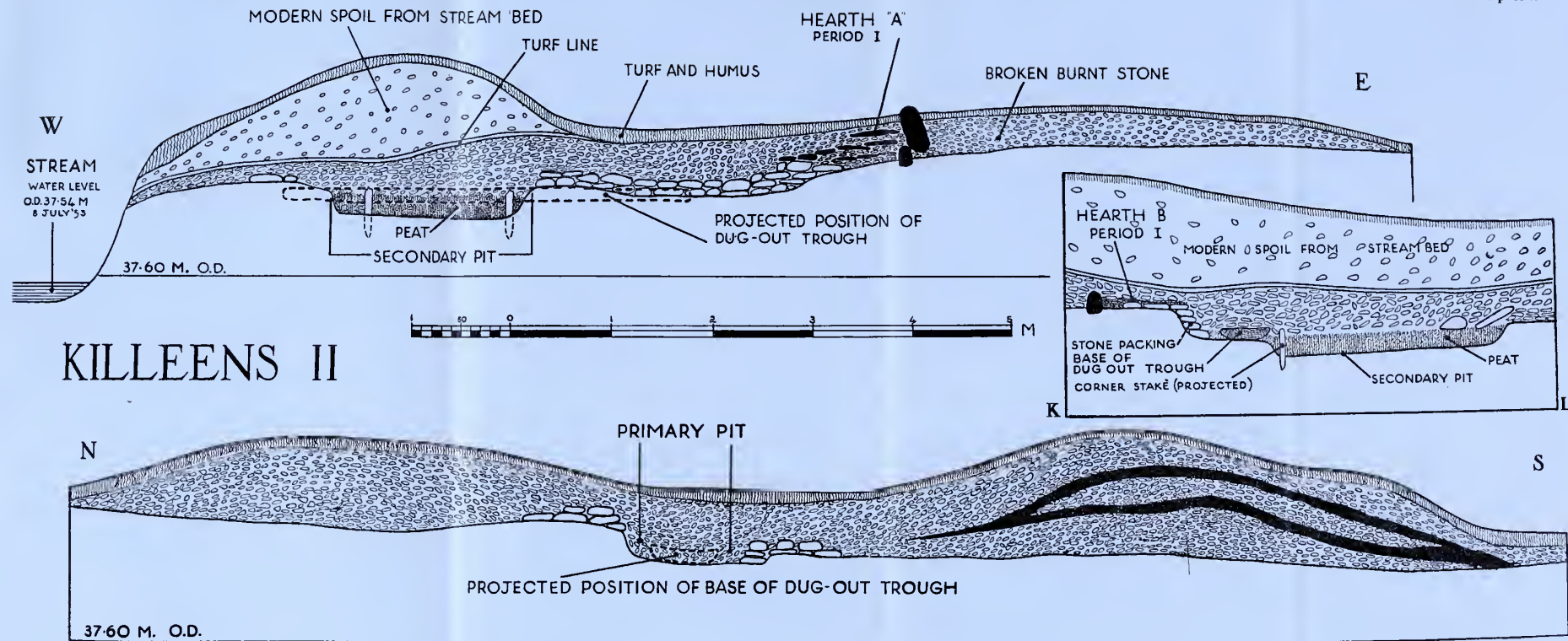


FIG. 12. Killeens II, sectional profiles

MODERN STONE BRIDGE



STRA
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1000
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KILLENS II



1000 M. 00

slight crescent shaped mound, the open side of the crescent facing towards Site I. Its extreme dimension measured across the horns of the crescent was 5m and its maximum height above field level was 25cm. Its volume of burnt stone was calculated at five cubic metres.

Excavation showed that, as before, the mound was composed entirely of broken burnt stone and charcoal. The greatest thickness of the material was 51cm. There was no formal hearth site and fires were evidently lighted here and there.

Centrally placed between the horns of the mound was an oval pit dug down through the thin layer of peat and into the underlying impervious soil and gravel. The central axes of the pit measured at old ground level were 1.85m by 1.15m by 20cm deep. Its filling was broken stone right to the bottom with a small amount of charcoal-impregnated soil which had been washed in from the mound. There was no timber structure and there was no evidence of any other form of lining for the pit. The whole had the appearance of a very temporary site, used perhaps five or six times in all, and when abandoned the pit was left full of the stone used for the last cooking.

It may be that the site was used for the duration of the time that it took to fell the tree and set up Site II, and thus if it was not intended for prolonged use, there would be no necessity to provide the pit with a lining.

No objects were found and there is no evidence of date, nor any evidence to support the conjecture that it was set up before Site II. Also, its date relative to Site I is unknown.

On a site where such a considerable amount of activity took place it was natural to expect that some form of hut would have been set up, and so a search was made. The most likely area was that which lay between the sites and on to which the entrances of Site I and Site II opened. The ground here, however, had suffered much recent disturbance—pits had been dug into it by the land-owner in his search for a source of water; a drain had been cut across it and the remainder was badly cut up by the trampling of cattle. It was not surprising, therefore, that our trial trenches yielded nothing. Under the circumstances however, this result cannot be taken to mean that a hut had never existed here. Other areas in the vicinity of the three sites were then trenched, but again with a negative result.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

It has been made clear above that Ballyvourney I yielded the most complete picture of the type of site under investigation. There, the central feature was a wood and stone-lined trough, which, because of seepage from the surrounding wet ground, always remained full of water. A semi-circular hearth had been constructed at the SE end, but after a short period of use, this was covered over by large paving flags and a new hearth was made at the opposite or NW end of the trough. To the north of these features, there was a dry stone-lined pit with flag-paved floor, while to the

south, there was an oval wooden hut. Within the latter were two fixtures, one of which may have been a bed or a "butcher's block" and the other, a meat rack. Surrounding the whole was a dump of broken burnt stone, the volume of which was calculated at 27 cubic metres. There was no archaeological dating evidence, but pollen analysis has shown that a date as early as the middle bronze age is possible.¹⁷

To find out if a site such as this could be used for cooking purposes, experiments (described in detail above) were carried out and two large joints of meat were perfectly cooked, one boiled in the water-filled trough, the other roasted in the dry slab-lined pit. The cooking was done by means of stones heated in a great fire.

What further details did the subsequent excavations add to this picture? Ballyvourney II gave evidence of a boiling trough made by hollowing out a log of timber, which since it was set in dry ground, had to be manually filled from the adjacent river. The clearly defined hearth set at one end of the trough, had been reconstructed three times, a fact which suggests that the site had been used for four seasons at least. No roasting oven had been set up here, but there was evidence that two huts had been constructed, the larger secondary example set up over the ruin of the smaller primary one. The mound of burnt stone contained 139 cubic metres of material. There was no evidence of date.

At Killeens, a closely-knit group of three sites was examined. The pre-excavation forms of these were typical of the vast majority of the known cooking-places in the south of Ireland (and indeed of those in Britain as well). Site I produced a very well-constructed plank-built trough which filled automatically by seepage. There had been no formal hearth nor was there a roasting pit. The only object found, a fragment of tubular gold foil which had formed part of a gold-plated ring, was useless for dating purposes, but some of the wood of the trough, examined by Professor Libby of Chicago, gave a radiocarbon measurement of $3,506 \pm 230$ years (1783 to 1323 B.C.), that is, early to middle bronze age. The mound of burnt stone contained 198 cubic metres and was thus the most used of all the sites examined.

Killeens II was found to have had two periods of use. In the first, a dug-out trough was set in the ground at the edge of a stream from which it must have been manually filled. There were two hearths, one of which had been reconstructed perhaps three or four times, and this suggests that in Period I the site was used for four or five seasons. In Period II, the dug-out trough had fallen into disuse and a plank-built one, similar to that at Site I had been constructed. How long Period II lasted is unknown. The site produced no archaeological dating evidence, but again, a radiocarbon measurement made on the wood of the dug-out by Professor Libby gave an age of $3,713 \pm 270$ years, that is 2030 to 1490 B.C., or early bronze age. The content of its mound of stone amounted to 67 cubic metres and this represents the whole life of the site as there was no strati-

¹⁷See Appendix III.

graphical means of distinguishing how much of the stone belonged to Period I and how much to Period II.

At Killeens III, cooking had been done in an *unlined* water-filled pit and its mound contained only five cubic metres of material, facts which suggest that it was a site of very temporary character. There was no dating evidence.

Thus, the five sites excavated have produced a variety of trough forms, a variety which fits in with such descriptions as are given in the records of earlier workers.¹⁸ Even though there are variations in detail from site to site there is an essential sameness about them all. Ballyvourney II and Period I of Killeens II are similar in that the trough was of dug-out form in both. At Killeens II, it was clear that the plank-built trough succeeded the dug-out form and this suggested to us, though we could not prove it by stratigraphical or archaeological evidence, that Killeens I was probably later still. This suspected difference in age has been supported by the radio-carbon measurements—early bronze age in the case of Site II and early to middle bronze age in the case of Site I.

In the report on each site above, we have discussed in detail the available evidence on the question of duration of use or of occupation. From what has been said it will be clear that no accurate estimate can be made since in any given case, several imponderables are involved. For each site the volume of broken stone in the mound has been given. Notwithstanding the fact that the quantity of this material will vary for any given amount of cooking depending on the quality of the stone used, a comparison of the cubic contents of the mounds does give a good impression of the relative length of use of each site.¹⁹ Thus there can be no doubt that Ballyvourney I with 27 cubic metres had a much shorter life than Ballyvourney II with 139 cubic metres, even though here, since the dug-out trough was larger, a greater quantity of broken burnt stone must have resulted from each cooking. At Killeens, Site III which had 5 cubic metres may be compared with Site II which had 67 and Site I which had 198.

We were able to show beyond doubt that Killeens II (because of its two troughs) and Ballyvourney II (because of its two huts) were each two-period sites, and further, that the hearths at Ballyvourney I and II and at Killeens II, Period I had each been reconstructed a number of times. These facts make it appear likely that activity at cooking-places in general was not a continuous business from the time of erection until final abandonment. On the contrary it appears almost certain that it was seasonal—that the contrivances were used for short periods during the summer only. The bottom layer of filling in the troughs at Ballyvourney I, Killeens I and Killeens II, Period II was composed largely of autumnal debris, which shows that these sites had been abandoned at or before the beginning of an autumn

¹⁸See Appendix II.

¹⁹In this connection see the speculations and calculations of Bullows: *Trans. Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, LII

(1927), 294-5 and 297-8, who excavated sites at Sutton Park, Warwickshire, England. See also Layard: *P.P.S.E.A.*, III (1922), 489.

season. Perhaps, therefore, the same people returned summer after summer to the same places. This may also explain the many instances of grouping of cooking-places—the individual sites in a group are probably successive one to the other (as seems to have been the case at Killeens) rather than contemporary.

When once set up a cooking-place perhaps became the base-camp of a party who may have systematically hunted over the surrounding district for a short period, presumably returning to the camp every night with their kill. When the district had been cleared of game or when it had been worked to its perimeter, it was an easy matter to shift to a new base elsewhere. Thus it may be that for any (or every) particular group of hunters, a chain of cooking-places came to be established throughout a particular territory and that the summer was spent in working round the circuit of these. A statement in the *Laws* suggests, however, that when once a cooking-place was set up, every man had a right to make use of it.²⁰

For long in Ireland, this type of monument with its mound of burnt stone has been called *fulacht fian* on the basis of references in the early Irish literature.²¹ Amongst Irish speakers to-day at Ballyvourney and elsewhere, however, the form now normally used is *fulacht fiadh*,²² which presumably is a recent development since it occurs in none of the literary references known to me. It is a term which means "cooking-place of deer" or "cooking-place of game", though indeed it may also be translated "cooking-place of the wild", wild here meaning "out of doors".

The name as found in Cormac's Glossary²³, one of the earliest of the literary sources, takes the form *fulacht fiansae*²⁴, "cooking-place of the roving hunter-warrior", that is, any roving huntsman, but in the later documents, such for instance as Keating's *History*²⁵, the form is usually *Fulacht Fian*, *Fian* here meaning the particularized *fianna* of Finn macCumhaill.

Though Keating's *History* is undoubtedly a late source, it may be assumed that it is based on earlier writings and on oral tradition, and it is clear from the context that the writer is describing something not of his own day but something which he regards as having belonged to the ancient past. Leaving aside for the moment his attribution of the structures to the *fianna* of Finn macCumhaill, it is clear that in Keating's mind, the sites

²⁰See Appendix I, 2c.

²¹See Appendix I, 1, 2a, 7c.

²²In the Ballyvourney district and elsewhere in Ireland I have found that natural deposits of "limonite" (iron pan or bog ore) are sometimes also called *fulacht fiadh* by the people. This substance is frequently of a black or dark brown colour and at a casual glance resembles the burnt broken stone and charcoal of the cooking place proper, hence the confusion. The more discerning observers in the Irish-speaking

districts, however, use the term *cach iarainn* for "limonite" or bog ore and reserve the term *fulacht fiadh* for the cooking-place sites. When one is told, therefore, that a *fulacht fiadh* exists, this information requires to be checked before it can be accepted.

²³See Appendix I, 3a.

²⁴*Fiansae*, gen. case of *fianus*, a word which connotes the occupation of roving hunter-warrior in general.

²⁵Appendix I, 1.

were hunting-camps occupied for short periods in summer. This accords well with the archaeological evidence adduced above.

At first glance, the hut (such as those found at Ballyvourney I and II) is seen as dwelling and meat store for an attendant, who perhaps not a hunter, remained constantly at the camp. He would skin and clean the kill, would do the cooking and would probably have the meal prepared each evening against the return of the huntsmen. Sleeping in the hut at night, he would be watchman to protect the stored carcasses from the hunting-dogs and from wild animals.

On the other hand, at Ballyvourney I, if instead of a bed we interpret the rectangular structure as a butcher's block in accordance with the alternative suggestion made above, the hut ceases to have its dual function and becomes instead the "camp kitchen" erected for the sole purpose of facilitating the handling of the meat. Since both it and the huts at Ballyvourney II were positioned so close to the cooking-pits (and indeed that at Ballyvourney I stood on wet bog), the camp kitchen idea is seen to be the more reasonable one. Had the hut at Ballyvourney I been intended as a dwelling, it could have been built a few metres to the N, W, or S, where it would have stood on firm dry ground and would have been the more comfortable for that reason alone.

Apart from this, the literature²⁶ mentions the *fianboth fulachta*, the "hunting-hut for cooking", and from this one may legitimately infer that such a structure was a normal adjunct to the cooking-pits.²⁷ Another reference²⁸ says that the "roomy cooking-hut" was roofed with "green-topped pale-rooted sedge"—not the skins of animals as assumed by us above. Our suggestion of the skin roof arose merely because the skins were readily available to the builders (since they were huntsmen) and because it would appear that they could more easily and more rapidly be put in place. But thatch would mean a cooler meat-store and it is interesting to note that in the literature the term *fuarboth*²⁹, "cold hut" is found. *Fuarboth* also has the figurative meaning—hut without fire or without life, that is, a non-lived-in or non-domestic structure, a meaning which fits well with what we have said above.

Furthermore, if the hut was meant to stand over from year to year, as seems very likely to have been the case, a roof of "cheap" local thatch was more sensible than one of valuable skins, which if left in place over the winter when the hut was not in use, would at the very least be likely to suffer serious deterioration, especially as so many cooking-sites are in high and exposed places.

Keating says that the site chosen for the camp should lie adjacent to

²⁶See Appendix I, 1, 2a, 3c, 4b, 5, 6, 7a, and 8.

²⁷For the occurrence of huts at apparently similar cooking-sites in Sutton Park, Warwickshire, see Bullows: *Trans. Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, LII (1927), 294. The evidence is inconclusive

as the huts were not excavated. See also Layard: *P.P.S.E.A.*, III (1922), 485, 487, who mentions a pit-dwelling at cooking-sites in Norfolk.

²⁸See Appendix I, 4b.

²⁹See Appendix I, 2a, 3c, 6 and 8.

wood and moorland. The necessity for siting it near a wood is perhaps the obvious one of ensuring a ready supply of structural timber and fuel for the fires. Our excavations at Ballyvourney I and Killeens I and II, Period II, have provided an explanation for the less obvious moorland requirement and that is that if the boiling-pit were dug into wet peat, not only was the water-supply problem solved, but also the difficulty of making a water-tight wooden trough was completely removed. It may be that the manually filled, dug-out type was the earlier form and the plank- or branch-built type the later, as seems to have been the case at Killeens. In any event, the siting of the Irish cooking-places seems almost always to have been determined by the presence of wet or marshy ground regardless of whether this condition was found in high- or low-land. Sites on dry ground such as Ballyvourney II, are unusual. Certain "boiling-mounds" in Anglesea which I have seen are closely similar to many of the Irish examples both in surface appearance and in their wet-ground situations.

Again, Keating says that *two* pits were dug into the ground, one in which to boil meat in the manner described and the other for use as a pool in which to wash.³⁰ It will be seen that according to this account³¹, the roast meat was cooked on spits. Now Ballyvourney I produced no evidence in the form of post- or stake-holes that a spit had been used. If it be admitted that the camp had been set up for use by a band of roving hunters, it is unlikely that they would have carried about with them a spit of the type described in the literature³² since the reason for cooking in this way in the open would appear to have been to enable the huntsmen to avoid burthening themselves with utensils and accoutrements; and if they required a spit, a simple wooden one could have been easily made on the spot. The negative evidence of the absence of stake-holes is, therefore, all the more significant.

But we had good evidence that the second pit—our stone-lined flag-paved structure—had been used as a roasting oven. The burnt condition of the lining stones showed that fires had been lighted within the pit, and the heap of fine charcoal beyond the opening in its northern end, showed that the pit had been swept clean after these fires, while an actual test proved that the structure could be used effectively to roast meat.³³

It would appear, therefore, that while Keating was aware that two pits were sometimes made, he was not aware of the real purpose of the second, and to explain it away, made it a bathing-pool. At all our sites, the construction of a bathing-pool was quite unnecessary since there were numerous streams close by, and at Ballyvourney, the river Sullane, which provides excellent natural swimming-pools, is a mere 220 metres distant from Site I and 46 metres from Site II.

Turning again to the literature we find that some of the references³⁴

³⁰An interpretation followed by many subsequent writers.

³¹See Appendix I, 1.

³²Appendix I, 7b, 9, 10.

³³Layard: *op. cit.*, p. 494ff, mentions ovens at her sites in Norfolk.

³⁴See Appendix I, 2d, 4b, and 7b.

mention two apparently separate things or actions performed at the cooking-place: *fulacht*, *fulachtadh* and *indeoin*, *indeonadh*. Some³⁵ have understood *indeoin* to mean "anvil", but it is clear from other references³⁶ that it also means a cooking contrivance, something to be used for *roasting* meat. May not *indeoin* in its earlier meaning have signified the simple roasting flag or flagged oven—the second pit revealed by our excavation at Ballyvourney I? *Indeoin* would in time come to be applied to any other form of roasting mechanism such as the spits which it sometimes signifies in the later documents.

Fulacht would have signified the boiling contrivance—our wood lined troughs, and *fulachtadh* the particular form of cooking done with it. In this connection there is a reference³⁷ which is of interest. Cailte and Findchadh make a *both* (hut) for themselves and they make a roasting (*indeonadh*). They then go to a stream to wash their hands and Findchadh says: "This is a cooking-place (*inadh fulachta*) . . ." "That is true" said Cailte, ". . . and it is not to be worked without water . . ." Is this again the distinction between roasting and boiling—they themselves had made a roasting for which no water was necessary, while it was essential for boiling?³⁸

Though all this be regarded as unwarrantable speculation—another of the "archaeological divagations into the domain of philology [against which] linguists have protested in vain"—it is put forward in the hope that it may stimulate interest in a problem which belongs both to archaeology and to linguistics. But be that as it may, it must be admitted that there is a remarkable co-incidence between the information brought to light by these excavations (particularly that of Ballyvourney I) and that contained in the literature.

Despite the successful results of our experimental cooking and the statements in the literature that such sites were used for cooking, the absence of food waste—particularly bones—seems to militate against our acceptance of the cooking-place interpretation. The absence of bones, however, can be easily and rationally explained. In the first place meat bones left strewn about on the surface must have been quickly scavenged by the hunting dogs and by wild animals after the party had left the site; and secondly, if they were thrown on to or buried in the peat bogs, or in the adjacent soil, it is probable that they would have been dissolved away by the acidity of the ground. It is not surprising, therefore, that no bone was found at any of our sites.³⁹ Offal left over from the cleaning of the carcasses might have

³⁵As for instance Meyer: *R.I.A. Todd Lecture Series* XIII, p. 16; Mackinnon: *Celtic Review*, VIII (May, 1912), 74ff. In this connection see also Hyde: *Celtic Review*, X (June, 1916), 355ff.

³⁶See Appendix I, 2d, 3b, 4b, 7a, 10.

³⁷See Appendix I, 7a.

³⁸In this connection see Joyce: *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, II (London, 1903), p. 122-3, where the distinction between roasting and boiling is discussed.

³⁹Grimes in discussing the absence of

bones at a similar site at Radyr, Glamorgan, says ". . . We are left with the alternative that the site was used for some other purpose than cooking . . ." *Trans. Cardiff Nat. Soc.*, (1935), p. 46. See, however, R.C.A.M. Scot., Vol. I, *Orkney and Shetland* (1946), p. 39, where it is said that occasionally animal bones and shells have been found in the Scottish "burnt mounds". See also Layard: *P.P.S.E.A.*, III (1922), 483ff. where it is said that bones were found amongst the burnt stones of a group of sites in Norfolk.

been preserved if *buried* in the peat, but it may be assumed that this also was scavenged by the dogs.⁴⁰

The disappointing feature at each of our sites was the absence of archaeological dating evidence. It is clear that timber objects would have been well preserved if they had become buried in the peat. So also would other organic materials except bone. As mentioned above, this absence of finds is in itself an indication of the short duration of each visit of the users to their cooking-place.

Pollen analysis has shown that Ballyvourney I may be as old as the middle bronze age. The timber work of both the trough and the hut had been penetrated by growing rootlets, a form of contamination which renders wood unsuitable for radiocarbon examination. At Ballyvourney II and Killeens III no woodwork had survived, so that at these three sites this new method of dating could not be applied. The timberwork at Killeens I and II was, however, well preserved and uncontaminated by living matter. There is no obvious reason, therefore, to doubt the correctness of the radiocarbon measurements made by Professor Libby and the early to middle bronze age dates which these measurements connote. While this paper was in the press, a cooking-place was excavated at Webbsborough, Co. Kilkenny, by Miss Ellen Prendergast, to whom I am indebted for unpublished information. In the bottom of the trough two small "marbles" were found. These objects can be paralleled in Irish megalithic contexts and may therefore suggest an early bronze age date for the site.

Dating evidence from other Irish sites is scanty and in some respects unreliable. The objects from them are either chance finds brought to light in the course of tillage or other work, or are the product of unscientific digging. One cannot be certain, therefore, that the objects in question were directly associated with the sites from which they are said to have come.

Raftery⁴¹ says that "the discovery of copper axes in a 'fulacht fiadh' shows that this method of cooking was practised in the early bronze age". Ó Ríordáin⁴² has conveniently summarized what other evidence there is. According to him "stone axes are said to have been found in some examples in Co. Waterford."⁴³ A late bronze age gold ornament⁴⁴ (an expanded-ended dress fastener of the type known as a 'fibula') was found in the material of a *fulacht fiadh* near Balla, Co. Mayo; a flanged bronze axe⁴⁵ (of the beginning of the middle bronze age) is reported from Millstreet, Co. Cork, while others in the same district produced querns . . . It would appear from the evidence of the finds and from the tradition regarding them

⁴⁰That dogs were used in hunting is well attested in the Irish literature. Some of the sculptured crosses provide pictorial evidence for the later period at any rate. See F. Henry: *Irish Art* (London, 1940), p. 106, fig. 40.

⁴¹*Prehistoric Ireland* (London, 1951), 157. I have been unable to trace the evidence on which this statement is based.

⁴²*Antiquities of the Irish Countryside*, (3rd ed. Methuen, London, 1953), p. 44.

⁴³Quinlan: *J.R.S.A.I.*, XVII (1855-6), 390ff.

⁴⁴N.M.D. Reg. no. 1934: 5600. The Museum file contains no evidence that the gold object was in fact associated directly with the cooking-place.

⁴⁵N.M.D. Reg. no. 1936: 1779. C.19: 1.

that *fulachta fiadha* are another example of a type of monument beginning in prehistoric times but continuing into the historic period ”.

Of all these objects, the bronze axe is the most reliably reported find.⁴⁶ It came from a depth of 4 feet in the mound of burnt stone and there was a further 6 inches of the same material below it. It does appear, therefore, to have been stratified in the mound. The axe has well developed flanges and stop-ridges and is not far from the fully developed palstave form. The date of the site in which it was found, therefore, may well be late rather than early in the middle bronze age.

A pollen sample taken at the level of the rim of the trough at a cooking-place at Milleens, Co. Kerry (found in 1943), suggests a possible late bronze age date.⁴⁷

Thus, we have two sites which can perhaps be dated to the early and middle bronze age respectively by archaeological evidence and two sites dated by radiocarbon to the same period, while pollen analysis suggests that middle and late bronze age dates are possible for two others. These early datings though they are few in relation to the number of cooking-places that exist, are a useful corrective to the fairly widespread and perhaps too readily accepted notion that all such sites are an early iron age—early historic period phenomenon.

Oral tradition and some of the literary references⁴⁸ link the sites with the *fianna* of Finn macCumhaill and if these indications could be relied upon, they would imply a date in the first few centuries of the christian era for many cooking-places. This evidence must, however, be treated with caution especially in view of O’Rahilly’s theory⁴⁹ that Finn and his fellows were mythical characters who had no historical existence. But there can be little doubt that the method of cooking was used not only by bands of hunters but also by groups of men on military expeditions⁵⁰, and even if the named persons and the principal incidents in the tales are fictitious, surely their authors introduced into the background against which the characters were set, a sufficient amount of commonplace detail to give their stories an air of verisimilitude? In other words in referring to *fulachta*, were they not mentioning a well recognised method of open-air cookery?

But if the literary evidence can be taken as an indication of late survival, the *fulacht fiadh* was still being built and used in Ireland down to late mediaeval times. Brian Borumha constructed them in the early days of his struggle with the Vikings⁵¹ and the earl of Desmond was assassinated in 1583 while hiding in a hut which is described as *fianboth folachta*.⁵² On the other hand the term *fianboth folachta* as found in these late sources may be, as it were, a “ petrified phrase ” surviving in use from ancient times, but no longer having its original technical meaning.

What is the British evidence on the question of date? Cantrill and

⁴⁶Broker: *Sráid a’ Mhuilinn* (Mill-street, 1937), p. 11.

⁴⁷Mitchell: *P.R.I.A.*, LIII, B, (1951), 178 and the final paragraph of Mr Mitchell’s report in Appendix III below.

⁴⁸Appendix I, 1, 4a, 7a, 7c.

⁴⁹T. F. O’Rahilly: *Early Irish History and Mythology*, (Dublin, 1946), p. 271ff.

⁵⁰Appendix I, 5, 11.

⁵¹Appendix I, 5.

⁵²Appendix I, 6.

Jones who made extensive surveys of the Welsh sites, suggested that certain instances were of neolithic date on the basis of finds of flint flakes, but they allowed for the possibility of continuance into the bronze and iron ages.⁵³ Layard⁵⁴ has excavated some sites at Buckenham Tofts Park, which she suggests were bronze age, and which though no troughs came to light, appear to be analogous to the Irish cooking-places. In the burnt material of the mounds several flint artifacts were found including a tanged and barbed arrowhead. There were also some sherds of pottery of bronze age character. Other evidence from Britain appears to range in date from the late bronze age to the Viking period.⁵⁵ The cooking-place at Radyr, Glamorgan,⁵⁶ mentioned above, is of interest because it yielded iron age pottery which can be dated within the period 100 B.C. to 100 A.D; furthermore, its horse-shoe shaped mound is closely similar to many of the Irish sites. At Merthyr Mawr, Fox⁵⁷ found small clay lined pits near which were heaps of broken burnt stones. These also appear to be analogous to the Irish sites, and again, they are of interest because a La Tène I brooch and other objects fix the date at between 400 and 300 B.C., though the occupation may have gone on into the second or first centuries B.C.

Thus, the *extreme* range of date as it is known to us at present, lies between about 2000 B.C. and the end of the 16th century A.D., that is, from the beginning of the bronze age down to late mediaeval times.

On the evidence of the number of sites known to us at present, the distribution of the type appears to be southern, though a full archaeological survey of the country would probably result in a considerable extension of the present distributional pattern. The greatest numbers occur in the counties of Cork and Kilkenny, but they are found elsewhere also—in the counties of Down, Kerry, Kildare, Laoighis, Mayo, Meath, Offaly, Sligo, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford⁵⁸. No county has been fully surveyed, but detailed work done in two small areas of Cork⁵⁹, has brought surprising numbers of the structures to notice—a total of 85 for East Muskerry and of 186 for the two parishes of Drishane and Cuileann, centred on Millstreet. At least 31 sites are now known in Co. Kilkenny^{59a}.

As has been suggested by Cantrill and Jones,⁶⁰ the factors which have determined this distribution may be geological. Limestone cannot be readily used for the process as it tends to burn to lime in the fire and to become

⁵³*Arch. Camb.*, XI (1911), 253-265.

⁵⁷*Arch. Camb.*, LXXXII (1927), 44-66.

⁵⁴*P.P.S.E.A.*, III (1922), 487, 489, 491.

⁵⁸See Appendix II.

⁵⁵See R.C.A.M. Scot., *Orkney and Shetland*, I (1946), pp. 39-40, where all the evidence is conveniently summarized. See also, Moar: *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIII (1948-49), 231, and Wilson: *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXXI (1940), 180 and pl. IIIA—I am indebted to Lady Aileen Fox and to Mr John Holmes for this reference.

⁵⁹The barony of East Muskerry, surveyed by Mr P. J. Hartnett, Archaeological Officer, An Bord Fáilte, to whom I am indebted for unpublished information; and an area around Millstreet examined and published by Mr T. Broker, in booklet form under the title *Sráid a' Mhuilinn* (1937).

⁵⁶Grimes and Hyde: *Trans Cardiff Nat. Soc.*, (1935), 46.

^{59a}I am indebted to Miss Ellen Prendergast for this unpublished information.

⁶⁰*op. cit.*, p. 263-4.

calcium hydroxide when put into the water. Rock types other than limestone are therefore necessary. Absence of the sites from Limerick,⁶¹ Clare and Galway would fit in well with this theory since these are largely limestone areas, while the small number reported from the Midlands are perhaps on areas of the drift which contain a sufficient amount of readily available sandstone to make the cooking process possible, or as in the case of the Rathangan and Jigginstown examples and those on the Curragh (Co. Kildare),⁶² there are sandstone outcrops⁶³ in the near vicinity. In all the southern sites known to me sandstone was used exclusively and I know of no certain instance in any part of the country where an igneous rock was employed.

If, however, the lack of reports of sites from the north of Ireland⁶⁴ can be taken as evidence of their non-existence there, this would militate against a completely geological explanation for the distribution, and could it be shown that the *majority* of the southern sites belonged to the early iron age or to the early historic period, it would be tempting to see a correspondence between their distribution and that of the tales of the Finn cycle, many of which have their locale in the south. Powell⁶⁵ does not accept "the assertion made by some scholars that the personages of the Irish heroic literature are humanized divinities", or that, "the epics are purely mythological". Indeed he holds that "the opposite is possible, the outstanding leaders of early times tend to become deified . . ." The tales are based on the activities of an original *fiána* who "were the active men of their communities, banded together at certain times of the year, and no doubt with ritual, for the purpose of ensuring the welfare, protection or aggrandisement of their particular folk".⁶⁶ To those who built and used *fulachta fiadha*, whoever they may have been and whatever their date, social order or cultural background, hunting was an important seasonal activity, for it is difficult to interpret the sites in any way other than as the bivouacs of summer hunting-parties.

Sites in Britain have already been mentioned above. In Wales they are found in Anglesey,⁶⁷ Brecon, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan⁶⁸ and

⁶¹In the Windele MSS Letters in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, mention is made (in vol. XVI, p. 523-6) of a cooking-place on Knockadoon, not far from Bourchier's Castle. I have not been able to identify the site—see O'Kelly: *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, III (1942), 93. While this paper was in the press a structure which may have been a cooking trough was discovered in Co. Clare. I am indebted to Miss Ellen Prendergast for this unpublished information.

⁶²See Appendix II.

⁶³The Chair-of-Kildare—Hill-of-Allen Ridge. See Geological Survey of Ireland *Memoir for Sheet 119* (1858), p. 17. and *Memoir for Sheet 120* (1880), p. 15.

⁶⁴Hackett: *J.R.S.A.I.*, III (1854-5), 59, in a short note on certain Cork cooking-places, says that similar sites in *Ulster* are known as "Giants Cinders". This would suggest that perhaps they do occur in the north, but I have not been able to trace an instance there. While this paper was in the press a cooking place was excavated at Ballycrochan Dam, Co. Down by Mr H. W. M. Hodges, to whom I am indebted for unpublished information.

⁶⁵"The Celtic Settlement of Ireland" in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe* (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), p. 176.

⁶⁶Powell, *ibid*, p. 180.

⁶⁷R.C.A.M. *Anglesey Inventory* (1937), pp. 137, 141.

⁶⁸Cantrill and Jones: *op. cit.*, 253ff.

are numerous on the moors in the north of Caernarvonshire. A number have been noticed in England⁶⁹ and in Scotland,⁷⁰ but in all of these areas they have received little attention and few have been examined scientifically. There are two sites in the Isle of Man which may be cooking-places.⁷¹ Indeed it is not certain that the British sites are exactly the same as those in Ireland, though it appears more than likely that they are. Much more work must be done in both countries before any final conclusions can be reached. Cooking in this manner by means of heated stones was probably very widespread in ancient times as indeed it was up to quite recently amongst modern primitive people.⁷² It is interesting to note that the method has again come into use in modern times—airmen are taught how to cook meat in this way so as to enable them to survive should they be forced down in inhospitable or uninhabited territories!⁷³

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⁶⁹Bullows: *op. cit.*, and Layard: *op. cit.* Professor Ó Ríordáin for this reference.

⁷⁰See foot note 55 above.

⁷²See references in Cantrill and Jones: *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁷¹See *Jour Manx Museum*, II (1932), 64 and *ibid.*, p. 74. I am indebted to

⁷³See *The National Geographic Magazine*, CIII (May, 1953), 576-7.

APPENDIX I

I give here a selection of extracts from and references to the Irish literature. For help in this connection, I am indebted to Profs. S. Kavanagh and R. A. Breatnach, and Mr S. Pender of University College, Cork; to Máirín bean Uí Dhálaigh, Royal Irish Academy; Mr C. Ó Cuileanáin, Irish Place-names Officer; Mr B. Ó Cuív, University College, Dublin; and to Mr L. Ó Buachalla, Carraig Thuathaill, Co. Cork. The English versions given are those contained in the works cited. No alterations have been made even in cases where the translations are obviously faulty.

The word *seyoir* of the Norse sagas appears to refer to open-air cookery of a type which may be analogous to the Irish form. See "Om Ordet Seyoir" by Björn Magnusson Ólsen in *Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, II Raekke, 24 Bind (1909), pp. 317-331. I am indebted to Dr Ole Klindt-Jensen, Nationalmuseet, København, for this reference.

1. Keating: *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn*, II, 326 (Irish Texts Soc. ed. Dinneen, 1908)

Agus is amhlaidh do bhídís an Fhian ag coinmheadh ar fhearaibh Éireann ó Shamhain go Bealltaine agus iad ré cosnamh córa agus ré cosc éagcóra do ríoghaibh agus do thighearnaibh Éireann; agus fós ré caomhna agus ré coimheadh chuan na críche ar fhoirneart eachtrann; agus ó Bhealltaine go Samhain ré seilg agus ré fiadhach do dhéanamh, agus ris gach feidhm oile da n-iarradh rí Éireann orra, mar atá cosc gada agus díol cána, ré cosc díbhfeargach agus gach uile oile da mbhíodh san chrích ó shoin amach; agus tuarastail chinnte da chionn soin dóibh, amhail bhíos anois ó gach rígh san Eorulp do na caiptínibh agus do na ceannaibh feadhna bhíos ag déanamh feadhna faoi féin. Fá héigean iomorro don Fhéin ó Bhealltaine go Samhain bheith taoibh ré n-a seilg agus ré n-a bhfiadhach féin mar choinnmheadh agus mar thuarastal ó ríoghaibh Éireann, mar atá an feolmhach do bheith mar bhiadh aca, agus croicne na mbeathadhach n-alta mar thuarastal. Ni hithtí leo trá acht aonphroinn san ló go n-oidhche, agus sin um thráth nóna. Agus is é gnáthughadh do bhíodh aca gach sealg do-níthí leo ar maidin do chur timcheall meadhóin laoi leis an ngiollanraidh go tulaigh d'áirithe mar a mbídís i gcomhgar choille agus riasca agus teinnté treathanmhóra d'adhnadh ann, agus dá chlais talmhan do dhéanamh san riasc i gcríaidh bhuidhe, agus iomad do chlochaibh eimhir do chur san teinidh, agus cuid don fheolmhach do chur ar bearraibh da bruith ris an dteinidh,

Now the Fian used to be quartered on the men of Ireland from Samhain to Bealltaine; and it was their duty to uphold justice, and to prevent injustice, for the kings and the lords of Ireland; and also to guard and preserve the harbours of the country from the violence of foreigners; and from Bealltaine to Samhain to be engaged in hunting, and the chase, and in every other duty the king of Ireland might impose upon them, such as putting a stop to robbery, exacting the payment of a tribute, putting down malefactors, and so of every other evil in the country. For this they had a certain pay, as every king in Europe gives pay to the captains and to the generals who serve under him. However, from Bealltaine until Samhain, the Fian were obliged to depend solely on the products of their hunting and of the chase as maintenance and wages from the kings of Ireland; thus, they were to have the flesh for food, and the skins of the wild animals as pay. But they only took one meal in the day-and-night, and that was in the afternoon. And it was their custom to send their attendants about noon with whatever they had killed in the morning's hunt to an appointed hill, having wood and moorland in the neighbourhood, and to kindle raging fires thereon, and put into them a large number of emery stones; and to dig two pits in the yellow clay of the moorland, and put some of the meat on spits to roast before the fire; and to bind another portion of it with suagans in

agus cuid oile dhi do cheangal i ndlaoithibh seasca lé suagánaibh agus a cur da bearbhadh san chlais fá mó don dá chlais, agus bheith ag biathadh na gcloch do bhíodh san teinidh orra, go mbeantaoi fiucha minic asta go beith bearbhtha dhóibh. Agus do bhíodh do mhéid na dteinnté-se go bhfuilid a láithreacha dubhloiscthe i mórán d'áitibh i nÉirinn aníu, agus is díobh ghairmid na criadhaireadha Fulacht Fian aníu.

Dála na Féine, an tan do chruinnighdís gus an tulaigh ar a mbíodh an teine, do nochtadh gach aon díobh é féin, agus do cheangladh a léine fá chaol a chuim, agus do ghabhdaois timcheall an dara luig do luaidheamar thuas, ag folcadh a bhfolt agus ag nighe a mball . . . agus do hithfí a bproinn leo da éis sin. Agus iar gcaitheamh a bproinne dhóibh do ghabhdaois ag tógbháil a bhfianbhoth agus ag córughadh a leapthach, go gcuiridís inneall suain orra féin amhlaidh sin.

dry bundles and set it to boil in the larger of the two pits and keep plying them with the stones that were in the fire, making them seethe often until they were cooked. And these fires were so large that their sites are to-day in Ireland burnt to blackness, and these are now called Fulacht Fian by the peasantry.

As to the Fian, when they assembled on the hill on which was the fire, each of them stripped off, and tied his shirt round his waist; and they ranged themselves round the second pit we have mentioned above, bathing their hair and washing their limbs . . . and after this they took their meal; and when they had taken their meal, they proceeded to build their hunting-tents, and so prepared themselves for sleep.

(Note: For a similar description of the method of using the boiling pit, see the "Romance of Mís and Dubh Ruis", ed. by Brian Ó Cuív: *Celtica*, II (1954), 330, lines 89-97)

2a. *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I (1865), 206.

Im folach fiann, .i. both folachta, .i. im cach set, .i. biad na seoit, do berar as an uarboth . . .

For *robbing* the hunter's tent, i.e. a cooking-tent, i.e. for every 'sed' (i.e. the 'seds' are food) that is taken out of the hunting-tent . . .

2b. *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, II (1869), 252.

Ag loige meich, for fulucht a samrad, ocus ag loige ceithri miach, inbruithe a samrud . . .

A calf of the value of a sack, to be roasted in the summer, and a calf of the value of four sacks, to be boiled in the summer . . .

2c. *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, V (1901), 482.

Cis lir ro suidigead ro-dilse cacha tuaithe, ada comdilsí do cach recht? Hae aite . . . fulacht cacha chaille . . .

How many things have been established as the inherent rights of every territory, and which are equally due to every person? The salmon of every place . . . cooking-fuel in every wood . . .

2d. *ibid*, p. 484.

Fulacht cacha chaille .i. in nī ar a ndentar fulacht isin caill .i. induin.

Cooking-fuel in every wood, i.e. the thing which is cooked in the wood, anything cookable.

3a. *Cormac's Glossary* (O'Donovan) ed. Stokes (1868), p. 69.

Esnad . . . ba hesnad ainm in chuill dignitis na fianae umanbfulacht fianae . . .

. . . for *esnad* was the name of the music which the Fians (champions) used to make around their *fulacht fianae* . . .

- 3b. Sanas Cormaic (Cormac's Glossary), ed. Meyer from Y.B.L. *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, IV (1912), 88.

... fosfúair i fástigh oc fuine éisc for indiiuin ...

... found ... in an empty house cooking fish upon a stone.

(Translation from Stokes's edition of the Glossary as in 3a above, p. 130).

- 3c. *Three Irish Glossaries*, ed Stokes (1862), 34.

Tic iarom Find don fhuarboith déodláí confhaca in choland cen cend.

Finn returned to the hunting-booth in the evening, and saw the body without a head.

(Translation from Stokes's edition of the Glossary as in 3a above, p. 130).

- 4a. Acallamh na Senórach, *Irische Texte*, IV (1900), 21. ed. Stokes and Windisch.

Eoin a doiribh diamhaire ro soichtús fulacht Fénne.

Birds from dense groves used to come to fulacht Fenne ...

- 4b. *ibid*, p. 43.

Ocus lotar rompo ... gu Garbhros ... agus doghniat fianboth fairsing fulachtaidh and, agus (ro ecrat) ar hí do sheisc barrghlais buinghil (ó féici co) fornasc, agus dorónad inneonadh agus fulachtadh leo ann. "In fhuil uisci a n-imfogus duin?" ar fer dibh. "Atá ámh," ar Cáilte "i. tipra Oisín."

And they proceeded ... to a wood ... and there they construct a roomy hunting-hut for cooking and they roof it with green-topped pale-rooted sedge, securing it with ties all over and there they performed a roasting and boiling. Says a man: "Is there water near us?" Cailte answered: "Surely there is, Oisín's well."

(See also *ibid*, p. 285 and p. 411 under *inneonad*)

5. *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, (London, 1867), 60. ed. J. H. Todd.

Do gnitis imorro fianbotha folachta foslongpuirt acci indairib, ocus in niam-raib ...

Moreover they, with him [Brian Boramha] used to set up rude huts instead of encampments, in the woods and solitudes ...

6. *Annals of the Four Masters*, (Dublin, 1848), p. 1792. ed. O'Donovan.

... Drong duibh muirheartaigh ... do faghbháil eadarbaoghail ar iarla deasmumhan iar mbeith dhó i ffinboith folachtae i ccuas cairrgi i nglinn an ginntigh ... co ro lingsiot an fhuarbhocht fair i cerepuscal na maidne muiche ...

A party of the O'Moriarty's ... took an advantage of the Earl of Desmond, whom they found in an unprotected position: he was concealed in a hut, in the cavern of a rock, in Gleann-an-Ghinntigh ... and then in the morning twilight they rushed into the cold hut ...

(Note: The earl was assassinated in Co. Kerry in A.D. 1583)

- 7a. Hyde: *Celtic Review*, X (1916), 345 and 339. (Book of Lismore text).

... Ocus abtert Cailti, dentur sealc lind annso ... Uair ba hiat fein do rinde both doibh ind oidhchí sin, ocus do rindeadh indeonadh leo, ocus teit Cailti ocus Findchaidh do innladh a lámh chum in tsrotha. "Inadh fulachta so," ar Findchaidh, "ocus is cian o do rindeadh." "Is fir," ar Cailti, "ocus fulacht na morrigna so, ocus ní dénta gan uisci ..."

And Caoilte said, "let us hunt here" ... Because it was they themselves who had to make a bothy for themselves that night, and a broiling-of-food [indeonadh] was made by them. And Caoilte and Finnachaidh go down to the stream to wash their hands. "This is a cooking-place," [Inadh fulachta] said Finnachaidh, "and it is a long time since it was made." "That is true," said Caoilte, "and this is the cooking-place [fulacht] of the Great Queen. And it is not to be worked without water ..."

7b. *ibid.*, p. 345 to 347—poem of eight stanzas.

7c. *ibid.*, p. 349 and p. 344.

Cethrur mun fhuilacht so Fhéinn.
Ro bo díbhsidhein Find Féin,
Oisín Caití Diarmaid díl
Ro indlídís bír Deichín.

Four men tended the cooking amongst
the Fianna,
One of them was Finn himself,
Oisín, Caoilte, and loved Diarmid,
They used to set-going the Spit of
Deichen

8. *Hibernica Minora, Med. Mod. Ser. VIII* (Oxford, 1894), 77. ed. Meyer.

Atát trí húarbotha laís 7 nochan-
fhetur-sa cá díb i m-bia anocht.

But he has three bothies, and I know
not in which of them he will sleep to-
night.

(A footnote to the word "bothies" says: Lit. "cold bothies", perhaps so called because
no fire could be lighted in them)

9. Mackinnon: *Celtic Review*, VIII (1912), p. 74. Description of an
elaborate spit.

10. Petrie: *T.R.I.A.*, XVIII (1835-39), pp. 213-4. Descriptions of elaborate
spits.

11. Cath Maighe Lena, *Med. and Mod. Irish Ser. IX* (Dublin, 1938) ed.
Jackson.

. . . 7 it-chonnaire na feólmaighi 7 na
fulachta do rinnedar sluaig Ulad . . .

. . . and he saw the flesh meats and
the cooking-pits which the Ulster army
made . . .

APPENDIX II

This appendix contains a list of the Irish sites known to me. Where
sites are described or mentioned in print, the references are given, as are
also the sources of unpublished information. A glance at the recent
editions of the 6" scale O.S. maps of Co. Cork will show that the structures
are particularly numerous in this county.

Co. Clare

In the townland of Tomgraney, a plank-built wooden trough was uncovered in
June 1954. It was set in the ground near a river. There was some burnt stone and
animal bone. The bottom of the trough contained a good deal of animal hair. While
the site is suggestive of a cooking-place, the trough may have been used in the
tanning of hides. Information from Miss Ellen Prendergast, National Museum,
Dublin, in advance of her full publication.

Co. Cork

Eighty-five sites have been surveyed in the barony of East Muskerry. The detailed
records of these sites are in the topographical files of the Cork Public Museum.

T. Broker in his booklet *Sráid a Mhuilinn* has published a list of 186 sites in the
Millstreet area.

For nine sites in the Killavullen-Ballyhooly district see Lee: *J.C.H.A.S.*, XXXVII
(1932), 23ff.

For sites in the townlands of Kilnagleary and Curraghcrowley see Ó Riordáin: *J.C.H.A.S.*, XLII (1937), 57 and *ibid*, XLIII (1938), 56.

A site at Ballysimon, near Middleton is described in Wood-Martin: *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. 121.

See also *J.C.H.A.S.*, IIa (1893), 262-3 and Smiddy: *The Druids, Ancient Churches and Round Towers of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1873), 51 ff; Hackett: *J.R.S.A.I.*, III (1854-5), 59-61; *J.C.H.A.S.*, XXXII (1927), 37.

Co. Down

In the summer of 1954 a cooking-place was excavated at Ballycrochan Dam, near Bangor. The trough was lined with wood. Information from the excavator, Mr H. W. M. Hodges, Queen's University, Belfast, in advance of his full publication.

Co. Kerry

Milleens td. Mitchell: *P.R.I.A.*, LIII, B, (1951), 178.

Cloghanane td. Topographical file in Cork Public Museum.

Rossanean td. Topographical file in Cork Public Museum.

Several mounds of what are called "fulacht fianasa" are said to exist in the sandhills at the Fenit end of Barrow Strand. O'Donoghue: *Brendaniana*, (Dublin, 1893), pp. 45-6.

Co. Kildare

Camden: *Britannia* (Gough, 2nd ed. 1806) IV, p. 238 and pl. XXI, fig. 1. A group of sites on the Curragh. On examination, these sites showed no traces of burnt material and, therefore, do not appear to be cooking-places of the type in question.

Sites do occur, however, in the townlands of Jigginstown, Kill Hill and Tipper South. There is a group of four sites in the latter townland. Information from Mr P. Danaher, University College, Dublin.

A site is also known near Rathangan—Ó Riordáin: *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside* (3rd ed. 1953), p. 44.

Co. Kilkenny

At Rathmoyle—see Wood-Martin: *Pagan Ireland* (Dublin, 1895) 117, and at Foulkrath Castle, *ibid*, p. 241. The evidence given is not conclusive. Recently Mrs M. Phelan of Kilkenny, brought me to a site on the Golf Course near Kilkenny City. Without excavation it is impossible to be certain that this is a cooking-place, but the surface indications suggest that it is.

Hackett: *J.R.S.A.I.*, III (1854-5), 59, mentions cooking-places in the Glen of St. Luke's Well and at Bennett's Bridge.

Thirty sites have recently (summer 1954) come to notice in the following townlands: Shraghaddy, 6; Paulstown, 1; Grange Upper, 1; Bramblestown, 1; Columkille, 2; Ballybur Lower, 1; Coan East and West, 1; Maddockstown, 1; Muckalee, 11; Scanlansland, 1; Webbsborough, 4. Information from Miss Ellen Prendergast, National Museum, in advance of her full publication.

Co. Laoighis

Camden: *Britannia* (Gough, 2nd ed., 1806) IV, p. 239. Several sites on the heath near Portlaoise are described. While the evidence given is not conclusive, the sites do appear to be cooking-places.

There is a definite example in Corbally townland. Information from Mr W. Monks, Lusk, Co. Dublin.

Co. Mayo

The site mentioned above as having produced a gold ornament. Dooras townland, near Balla. Information in topographical file in National Museum, Dublin, and see foot note 42 above.

There is a typical site of horse-shoe form on the road-side about 1 mile from Ballina on the road to Foxford. Information from Mr P. Danaher, University College, Dublin.

Co. Meath

There is a site on the southern shore of the former lake of Lagore, Dunshaughlin townland. Information from Mr G. F. Mitchell, Trinity College, Dublin.

See Wood-Martin: *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. 122, who mentions eight sites near Moynagh Lake.

Co. Offaly

In *J.R.S.A.I.*, I (1849-51), 215, a site in the ruins of Killyon church is described, which may be a cooking-place.

Co. Sligo

At Knockaunbaun. See Wood-Martin: *Pagan Ireland*, (Dublin, 1895), 243. The evidence given is not conclusive. See also the same author in *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. 123.

Co. Tipperary

Hackett: *J.R.S.A.I.*, III (1854-5), 59, says that they occur in Tipperary, but gives no information.

A cooking-place was recently destroyed in the townland of Ballyhogan, near Nenagh, Information from Mr Breandán Ó Ríordáin, National Museum, Dublin.

Co. Waterford

Quinlan: *J.R.S.A.I.*, XVII (1885-6), 390. Forsayeth: *ibid*, XLIII (1913), 178. Forsayeth: *Jour. Waterford and S.E. Ireland Arch. Soc.*, XIV (1911), 142. Martin: *J.R.S.A.I.*, XIX (1889), 88 and 142. Hewson: *J.R.S.A.I.*, XXV (1895), 230.

Co. Wexford

Ranson: *J.R.S.A.I.*, LXXV (1945), 54 f. Five typical examples of horse-shoe form near Enniscorthy and Gorey. For other possible examples in the townland of Cummer see Kinahan. *P.R.I.A.*, II (2nd Ser., 1879-88), p. 155. I am indebted to Mr Breandán Ó Ríordáin, National Museum, Dublin, for this reference.

APPENDIX III

Botanical Reports

I am much indebted to Mr Frank Mitchell, Trinity College, Dublin, for the pollen analysis and botanical report on the samples sent him from Ballyvourney I, given in full below; and to Dr P. O'Connor, National Museum, Dublin, for the identifications of mosses, timbers and charcoals from all of the sites.

Ballyvourney I, Report of Mr Mitchell.

In 1952 Professor O'Kelly sent me four small samples of peat for examination. One sample (labelled Ballyvourney I/4) came from a layer of peat 3cm thick which had formed after the site had gone out of use. The other three samples came from peat below the structure. One sample (labelled I/3) came from peat under the north-west hearth. The remaining two samples came from a layer of peat 10cm thick under the south-east primary hearth. The samples were taken from below stones which formed the back of the hearth; the upper one was labelled Ballyvourney I/1, and the lower Ballyvourney I/2.

Portion of each sample was macerated with potassium hydroxide. The material was then washed through a fine sieve and the portion which remained on the sieve was examined. In this way seeds of rush (*Juncus*), fungal debris and wood debris were identified. The material that passed the sieve was centrifuged and samples for microscopic examination were prepared. In each sample 300 arboreal pollen grains (including Hazel) were counted, and pollen grains of non-arboreal plants were also

counted. Table 1 shows the results of the counts, and also the macroscopic identifications made. Proportions of arboreal pollens (excluding Hazel) are expressed as percentages of the sum of these pollens. The number of pollen grains of Hazel is expressed as a percentage of the sum of the other arboreal pollens. The total of all non-arboreal pollens (Σ -NAP) is expressed as a percentage of the total of all arboreal pollens (including Hazel). The individual percentage values of some of the more herbaceous pollens noted are also shown.

Table I

SAMPLE	WILLOW	BIRCH	PINE	ELM	OAK	ALDER	HOLLY	HAZEL	Σ -NAP	GRASSES	SEDGES	HEATHERS	PLANTAIN	VARI/A	OTHER FOSSILS
4	2	6	2	—	6	84	2	69	66	15	22	2	5	22	12 seeds of rush
3	—	4	15	2	56	2	2	104	5	1	1	—	1	2	Fungal debris
1	4	68	12	3	9	4	1	32	13	6	3	1	—	3	Nine seeds of rush ; Fungal debris
2	2	9	63	4	18	6	—	48	4	1	—	1	1	1	Two seeds of rush ; Fungal and wood debris

In south-west Ireland high values for Pine pollen are often succeeded by high values for Oak pollen. Thus, it is possible that sample 3 is younger than samples 1 and 2, and has accordingly been placed above them in the table. All the samples below the structure contain substantial amounts of Pine pollen, whereas the sample above the structure only contains a trivial amount of Pine pollen. Numerous pollen-diagrams have been published from south-west Ireland (JESSEN, 1949; MITCHELL, 1951). If these are inspected, it will be seen that Pine, having had high values, later falls to insignificant values, and it is possible to date this fall in relation to finds of archaeological objects (see Table 2).

Table 2

OBJECT	BRONZE AGE PERIOD	LOCALITY	PINE POLLEN VALUES
Four gold objects	Late	Kilmoyly North Td.	Pine falls to 2% below find-level
Two amber beads and gold mount for glass bead	Late	Milmorane Td.	Pine falls to extinction at find-level
Bronze Cauldron	Late	Ballinvariscall Td.	Pine falls to 2% at find-level
Rapier	Middle	Togherbane Td.	Pine 3-6% below find-level, 20% at find-level, falls to 1% immediately above find-level
Axe with stop-ridge	Middle	Emlaghlea Td.	Pine 10% at find-level

Table 2 makes it clear that Pine was falling to low values at the level at which the bronze cauldron was found in Ballinvariscall Td., and had already fallen to low values below the level at which the four gold objects (three bracelets and one 'dress-fastener'—see RAFTERY, 1951, figs. 189 and 193) were found in Kilmoyly North Td. Both the Cauldron and the gold objects belong to the Late Bronze Age.

On the other hand the typologically earlier finds—the rapier (see MAHR, 1937, fig. 4) and the axe with stop-ridge—were associated with higher values of Pine pollen and also with high values for Oak pollen. Consequently it is possible that sample 3, containing a substantial amount of Pine pollen and a large amount of Oak pollen, accumulated at a time when Middle Bronze Age objects were in use in the countryside. Some agriculture must have been practised in the area while the lower peat was accumulating, as it contains pollen of Plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*), a weed still common in Ireland to-day. At the same time there is only a trivial amount of non-arboreal pollen present in the samples compared with the amounts of arboreal pollen present, and it is unlikely that any extensive clearance of forest had taken place. Though rushes were growing on the site, tree growth must still have been dense. The peat presumably accumulated under relatively dry conditions as it contains only small amounts of alder and sedge pollen.

It is obvious that the sample from above the structure indicates a totally different set of conditions. Extensive forest clearance must have taken place, because herbaceous plants are now able to contribute large amounts to the total pollen rain of the vicinity. Also, conditions must have become wetter as is shown by the very high values for Alder pollen, and by the substantial values for sedge pollen. Pine has fallen to very low values but this may perhaps be influenced by local conditions, and may not necessarily indicate the almost total disappearance of this tree from the countryside as a whole. Nevertheless, it seems probable that this upper peat did not accumulate earlier than a time when late bronze age objects were current in the countryside, while it may have accumulated at some later date.

In 1943 a wooden trough, 75cm deep, and well constructed of planks was found in a *fulacht fiadh* in Milleens townland near Kenmare (MITCHELL, 1951, pp. 178-9). A sample from the same level as the rim of the trough contained small amounts of Pine pollen (and no fragments of Pine leaves). Lower samples contained large amounts of Pine pollen (and numerous fragments of Pine leaves). If the trough was sunk into the peat till its rim was approximately level with the surface of the peat at the time, then the trough may date to the time when Pine values fell abruptly in south-west Ireland. It may be considerably younger.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| JESSEN, K. | 1949; Studies in Late Quaternary Deposits and Flora-History of Ireland. <i>P.R.I.A.</i> , LII, B, no. 54. |
| MAHR, A. | 1937; New Aspects and Problems in Irish Pre-history. <i>P.P.S.</i> , III (N.S.), pp. 261-436. |
| MITCHELL, G. F. | 1951; Studies in Irish Quaternary Deposits: No. 7. <i>P.R.I.A.</i> , LIII, B, No. 11. |
| RAFTERY, J. | 1951; <i>Prehistoric Ireland</i> , London. |

Identifications made by Dr P. O'Connor

Ballyvourney 1

- Structural timbers of hut—samples 2 and 5, Scot's Pine (*Pinus Sylvestris*). Samples 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9, Oak (*Quercus*).
- Structure of Trough—sample 10 is Birch (*Betula*) and samples 11, 12, 13 and 14 are all of Oak (*Quercus*).
- Moss used as packing around trough:—sample no. 15, *Thuidium tamariscinum*; *Hylocomium brevirostre*.
- Splits of wood from the sockets of the backing stones of the secondary hearth—sample no. 16, all Oak (*Quercus*).
- Pieces of bark found in peat floor of hut—sample no. 17, sixty-four pieces of Birch (*Betula*).
- Charcoal from Secondary hearth—sample no. 18, four pieces of Birch (*Betula*); One piece of Willow (*Salix*) or Poplar (*Populus*); ten pieces of Hazel (*Corylus*); seven pieces of Scot's Pine (*Pinus sylvestris*).
- Nuts from the bottom of the trough—sample no. 19, nine of Hazel (*Corylus*).

Ballyvourney II

Seven pieces of charcoal of Ash (*Fraxinus*).

Killeens I

The wood of the trough—all Oak (*Quercus*) except for one stake which is Alder (*Alnus*).

Charcoal from the mound—of the twenty pieces sent one piece is Ivy (*Hedera*), four pieces, of Ash (*Fraxinus*), and 15 pieces, Oak (*Quercus*).

A large carbonised mass was found to have wood of Poplar (*Populus*) in its interior.

Moss packing at corners of trough—this was *Hylocomium loreum*.

Nuts from the peat around the trough—Hazel (*Corylus avellana*).

Killeens II

Charcoal from the mound—of 20 pieces sent, one piece is Hawthorn (*Crataegus*), 3 of Ash (*Fraxinus*), 10 of Alder (*Alnus*), 2 of Hazel (*Corylus*), 2 of Oak (*Quercus*), 2 of Willow or Poplar (*Salix Populus*). There are 7 nuts of Hazel (*Corylus*) and 2 pieces of wood with bark of birch (*Betula*).

APPENDIX IV

The chemical analysis of the core of the gold plated ring from Killeens Site I was done by Mr J. P. Teegan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Lecturer in Physical Chemistry, University College, Cork, to whom I am much indebted. His report is given in full below:

The ring was submitted for chemical analysis with a view to identifying the nature of the core. Tin was clearly identified. No traces of copper (which together with tin might suggest a bronze core) were found. The absence of bone and leather (other possible materials) was confirmed.

The inner surface of the gold (i.e. the surface in contact with the core) shows signs of pitting which are not present on the outer surface. The pitting could occur through contact of the gold with a base metal (e.g. tin) in an acid medium (e.g. the bogland in which the site stood). Under these conditions the tin would tend to dissolve whereas the gold would suffer only slight corrosion (pitting). The fact that no large particles of tin could be identified in the gritty material now comprising the core supports the view that most of it has dissolved away.

BANNA SCHOOL, ARDFERT

(WITH A PREFATORY SURVEY OF CLASSICAL EDUCATION
IN KERRY IN THE XVIII CENTURY)

By Michael Quane, *Member*

Despite the circumstance that the majority of the Irish people were reduced to living "in a brutish nasty Condition, as in Cabins, with neither Chimney, Door, Stairs nor Window" and were reduced to a diet of "Milk and Potatoes, whereby their Spirits are not dispos'd for War," Sir William Petty noted, c. 1672, that nevertheless "the French Elegance" was not

"unknown in many of them, nor the French and Latin Tongues. The latter whereof is very frequent amongst the poorest Irish and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin."¹

George Story, Chaplain to Gower's Regiment in the Williamite forces in Ireland, recorded that on 31 August 1691

"Brigadier Leveson, with seven hundred Horse and Dragoons, went into the County of Kerry, to reduce the Irish in those Parts: which some of the Inhabitants in the other Places will needs call the most natural Irish in the Kingdom; and yet they say, every Cow-boy amongst them can speak Latin, on purpose to save them from the Gallows, when they come afterwards to be tried for Theft . . ."²

Early in the new century, c. 1709, another observer commented that

"The inhabitants of the County of Kerry—I mean those of them that are downright Irish—are remarkable beyond the Inhabitants of the other parts of Ireland for their Gaming,³ Speaking of Latin, and Inclination to Philosophy and disputes therein . . . When they get no one to Game with them you shall often find them alone with a Book of Arristotles or some of the Commentators Logic which they read very diligently till they are able to pour out Nonsensical Words a whole day about *universale a parte rei ens rationis* and such like stuff; and this they do pretty fluently without much hesitation, tho, all the while their Latin is Bald and Barbarous and very often not Grammatical, for in the heat of a dispute they stick not at breaking Priscians head very frequently . . ."⁴

The code of penal legislation restraining education in Ireland was completed in the year 1709 by an enactment which provided

"that whatsoever person of the popish religion shall publickly teach school, or shall instruct youth in learning in any private house within this realm . . . shall be taken to be a popish regular clergyman, and to be prosecuted as such—and incur such pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any popish regular convict is liable unto by the laws and statutes of this realm . . ."⁵

With regard to the partial effects of this legislation, Froude observed

¹Petty *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (2nd Edition, London, 1719) p. 79.

²Story, *An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*. London, 1693. Continuation Vol. pp. 193-4.

³This word *Gaming* is sometimes incorrectly quoted as *Learning*, e.g. T. F. O'Sullivan, *Romantic Hidden Kerry* (Tralee, 1931) p. 93.

⁴T.C.D. MS. I. 1.3. pp. 13-14.

⁵*Irish Statutes*, 8 Anne, c.3.

that "repressive Acts of Parliament contended in vain" with vital and spontaneous practice and custom throughout the country by which "ragged urchins in the midst of their poverty learned English and the elements of Arithmetic, and even to read and construe Ovid and Virgil." Froude also recorded—and tributes in this regard were not in his métier—

"The Catholics with the same steady courage and unremitting zeal with which they had maintained and multiplied the number of their priests, had established open schools in Killarney where the law was a dead letter."⁶

It must be obvious that during the Penal Days the Church in Ireland was obliged under the constant stress of circumstance to concentrate on the main requirement that

"the central problem of Catholic education is the formation of the priesthood; for if the clergy be lacking in numbers or in training, religion itself must suffer as a consequence of the principle. 'I will strike the shepherd' "⁷.

It is also true that from the end of the XVI century there was a sustained migration of aspirants to the priesthood from many parts of the country to the Hedge Grammar Schools of Kerry where their presence came to be regarded as normal. Most of these young men were of the class self-described as "poor scholars" i.e. *scoláiri bochta*, and after their ordination as Mass Priests they made their way through the ports of Kerry to the Irish Colleges on the Continent where they arrived without means and were there enabled to complete their theological training, many with distinction.⁸

"Munster was said to be a sort of preparatory school for Salamanca. In these days [writes Sarah Atkinson] Latin was freely spoken especially in Kerry. Boys were often met with on the lonely hillsides conning their Homer; and runners and stable boys in the service of the Protestant gentry could quote for you a verse of Horace, or season their remarks with a line of Virgil."⁹

Froude is however not quite correct in suggesting that the Penal Laws in regard to Education were "a dead letter" in Kerry.

"In the intended dispositions of Sylvester O'Sullivan, the informer, we have the names of several popish schoolmasters whom he declares to have been 'well versed in the liberal sciences.' One of these, indeed his own partner in academic labours, he accused before Lord Fitzmaurice of Ross Castle 'of carrying arms, school teaching and other heavy crimes.' "¹⁰

⁶The *English in Ireland*. Vol. I. pp. 511-2.

⁷Rev Bernard J. Mooney, B.A., B.D., "*Catholic Education in Ulster in the Penal Days—in the History of St. Colman's College, Newry*. (Newry, 1944). p. 9.

⁸At the University of Louvain one of these, John O'Sullivan of Dunkerron in Kerry, held dual office as Rector and President "and always had on view the poor scholar's wooden bowl which was his entire riches when he reached Louvain"—Rev. Professor T. Corcoran, S.J. "*Newman—Selected Discourses on Liberal Knowledge*". (Dublin 1929). Introduction p. XV.

⁹Rev. Edward Cahill, S.J. *The Native Schools of Ireland in the Penal Era*. *Irish Eccles. Record*. Vol. LV (Fifth series) No. 865. 1940. p. 24.

¹⁰Dinneen & Donoghue. *The Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*. 2nd Edn. I.T.S. London, 1911. Introduction p. XXI. Incidentally, it might be noted that girls, as well as boys, were taught the Classics by itinerant schoolmasters who lodged in the houses of the parents. Warburton, Whitelaw & Walsh, for instance, recorded "Some time ago we were applied to by another professor of Irish, who was also a good classical scholar. He had acquired a knowledge of Greek, he said, from a woman who read Homer with him in a retired spot near the Lake of Killarney. He afterwards became a teacher in a baptist school, but is now struggling with poverty and a numerous family." *The History of the City of Dublin*. Vol. II. (London 1818). p. 876.

The minutes of a meeting of the Kerry Justices of the Peace held at Tralee on June 11, 1714 record:

"We issued summons to severall persons. Most did appear and after some reluctance gave informations, Patrick Trant deposeth that one Teig Connell about February last went to France for foreigne education in the ship belonging to Captain Butler. Morris Pierce sent his son to France for foreigne education, as did Stephen Price, Bartholomew Rice: One Daniel Breen a papist did teach youth in learning."^{11a}

The County Assize Records also contain the names of certain Popish Schoolmasters and Parents to whom were directed

"Warrants dated 21 June 1714, per John Blennerhassett and Josiah Kennington, Clk: against Murrough Connell, Stephen Rice, Barthol. Rice, Garrett and Maurice Pierce, for sending their children to France. Against Derby Connor, Donogh Rue, Boetius Egan, fflor. Gillycuddy, Daniel Browne, Popish schoolmasters."^{11b}

Dr. Charles Smith, whose carefully compiled records from personal observation contain much information on XVIIIth century Kerry, wrote (c. 1756):

"It is well known that classical reading extends itself, even to a fault, among the lower and poorer kind in this county; many of whom, to the taking them off more useful works, have greater knowledge in this way than some of the better sort, in other places . . . The common people are extremely hospitable and courteous to strangers, many of them speak latin fluently; and I accidentally arrived at a little hut, in a very obscure part of this country, where I saw some poor lads reading *Homer*, their master having been a mendicant scholar at an english grammar school at Tralee . . . I have in my survey met some good latin scholars who did not understand the english tongue; particularly one Peter Kelly, who lived in a very uncultivated part of the country, already described, called Ballybog [i.e. Sneem]. Greek is also taught in some of the mountainous parts, generally by persons who pick it up, as mendicant scholars, at some english school. Neither is the genius of the commonalty confined to this kind of learning alone, for I saw a poor man near Black-Stones who had a tolerable notion of calculating the epacts, golden number, dominical letter, the Moon's phases, and even eclipses, altho' he had never been taught to read english."¹²

It must be borne in mind that in both the illegal Hedge Schools and Hedge Grammar Schools of Kerry (as in other parts of the country), Irish was necessarily the language of instruction, as it was the only language that the young people knew. There is however, so far as the present writer is aware, no great weight of evidence that Irish Grammar and composition in Irish were systematically taught in these schools. Fluency in the vernacular was attained solely through normal usage. With regard to Latin, it is necessary to realise that this was a spoken language in general use in Western Europe in the post-Renaissance period, especially as a medium of culture and refinement, and that in Ireland there were additional reasons for its study and use in that it was the language of the Church and a principal link with Catholic European countries.

^{11a} & ^bQuoted by Rev. Professor T. Corcoran, S.J. "*Catholic Lay Teachers and their Illegal Schools in the late Penal Times*" (Dublin. Gill. 1932) p. 21.

¹²Smith "*The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*," Dublin MDCCLVI. pp. 67, 108, 418.

It may be of interest to note that as early as 1589 it was observed that whereas in the Irish system of grammar-school education the practice of learning Latin directly through Irish was followed, proficiency in English was acquired indirectly by construing to that language in the process of learning Latin.¹³ Commenting on this procedure, Professor Corcoran has observed:

"This is an early proof of the method taken with Irish-speaking scholars, down to the time of the poet-schoolmasters of Munster, ending about 1820. Both English and Latin were acquired in the school, and the chief method of learning to speak English was to construe the Latin authors into it. The two languages were learned not separately, but conjointly, and in relation to each other. This affords a simple explanation of how the older usage of spoken English, especially in Munster, was formal, bookish, and Latinised in vocabulary and idiom."¹⁴

Less than a decade after the publication of Dr. Smith's History of Kerry, Sir James Caldwell, F.R.S., who vigorously opposed the first tentative proposals for the amelioration of the Penal Laws, indicated what he conceived to be the reasons for the popular support of the hedge grammar schools:

"The Papists are not only connected by the general Tie of Religion that acknowledges the Pope for its common Father and Head, with the Courts of France and Spain, but there is not a family in the island that has not a Relation in the Church, in the Army, or in Trade, in those Countries; and in order to qualify the Children for foreign Service they are all taught Latin in Schools kept in poor Huts, in many Places in the Southern Part of this Kingdom."¹⁵

In this matter however the facts are more clearly indicated by Rev. Bernard J. Mooney as follows:

"Not all the students of the Hedge Grammar Schools were aspirants to the priesthood; some were destined for secular callings. The more fortunate of these, denied opportunity at home, made their way to the Continent or to other foreign lands where larger and more liberal ideas prevailed and there carved out careers for themselves in the army, in the learned professions or in business. Others, out of devotion to learning or just *faute de mieux*, took up the perilous, ill-requited profession of hedge-school teaching at home. Multitudes of them still less fortunate were constrained to carry high natural gifts and much learning back to the most menial occupations. For the time was out of joint; Ascendancy Ireland was topsy-turvydom, the home of contradiction and absurd surprise."¹⁶

This changing condition of topsy-turvydom and contradiction was typical of many aspects of life in XVIIIth century Kerry, and particularly in regard to the state of education. The enactments requiring the establishment of parochial and diocesan schools were ignored there. The Act

¹³Robert Payne, *A Brief Description of Ireland made in this year 1589*. London 1590:- "I saw in a Grammar School in Limbrick one hundred and three score schollers, most of them speaking good and perfit English, for that they have used to conster the Latin into English."

¹⁴Rev. Professor T. Corcoran, S.J.

State Policy in Irish Education. A.D. 1536 to 1816. (Dublin. 1916). Introduction, p. 33.

¹⁵"*A Brief Examination of the Question whether it is expedient . . .*" Pamphlet (Powell. Dublin. MDCCLXIV). p. 27.

¹⁶Op. cit. p. 15.

of 1695 in restraint of foreign education, &c.,¹⁷ directed the strict execution thenceforward of the earlier Acts of 1537 and 1570¹⁸ providing for the keeping in each parish of "a schole for to learne English," and in each diocese of a central free school of which the Master "shall be an Englishman or of the English birth of this realm." None of these Acts was applied effectively in Kerry at any period in either the XVIIth or XVIIIth century. In 1738 there were only three licensed schoolmasters, appointed under the Act of 1537, in the whole diocese: Andrew Young and John Fitzgerald in Tralee and Maurice Herlihy in Killarney. In 1755 there were only two—Andrew Young and Andrew Lawlor.¹⁹ The explanation of this state of affairs may have been that the corporal oath taken by every clergyman of the Established Church on induction to a living that he would "teach or cause to be taught, an English School within the said Vicarage or Rectory" was indifferently regarded since the relevant Statute of 1537 (Section 9) also contained a direction that every clergyman on taking orders should undertake to "bid the beades in the English tongue."

With regard to the Irish Statute of Elizabeth I, 1570, Sir John Davis explains that its purpose was

"to give a civill education to the youth of this Land in the time to come."²⁰

This Act required

"The schoolehouse for every diocese to be builded and erected in the principall shire towne of the diocese, where schoolehouses be not already builded, at the costes and charges of the whole diocese . . ."

In the dioceses where they were established, these schools were all grammar i.e. classical schools, but none was established in Kerry²¹ despite the provisions of the Statute.

Nevertheless, in or near the larger towns, a few grammar schools were started as private ventures from time to time by individual clergymen. One such school, for instance, was commenced at Ardfert, after his graduation as B.A. in 1698, by Rev. Denis Connor, under the patronage of David Crosbie, the Lord of the Manor. Mr Connor prepared several boys for Trinity College, Dublin; and among the pupils during the period 1700-1722 were Maurice Crosbie (afterwards 1st Baron Branden) son of the patron, Pierce Crosbie of Ballyheigue, Arthur Crosbie of Tubrid, Robert Hilliard of Baltygarron, and the master's own son Maurice (who graduated B.A. in 1723 and was called to the Irish Bar in 1730).

¹⁷*Irish Statutes*, 7 Wm. III, c.4.

¹⁸*Irish Statutes* 28 Hen. VIII, c. 15 & 12 Eliz.I, c. 1.

¹⁹From *Visitation Book* in P.R.O., quoted in *Kerry Evening Post* (Vol. 1 of Cuttings in Library of Royal Irish Academy).

²⁰"A Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued . . ." &c. (London 1612), p. 252.

²¹After the failure of the Incorporated Society's Protestant Working School at Castleisland, a belated and abortive attempt was made to found a Diocesan School in the abandoned Charter School premises—See (i) Appendix to *Fourth Report of the Commissioners for enquiring into the State of all Schools on Public Foundation in Ireland*, 1809, and (ii) *Fifth Report (Diocesan Schools)* 1827, *House of Commons Paper No.* 441, p. 15.

An example of another such private school was that founded by Rev. Mr. Barry in Dingle at the turn of the century. A fair idea of the activities of this school is conveyed by the following newspaper advertisement:—

"A Person capable of being an assistant in a school and who can teach French and read English with propriety will meet with suitable encouragement from Rev. Mr. Barry in Dingle; if he is a good Latin Grammarian the more agreeable. Application to be made to the said Mr. Barry or to Mr. Thomas Trant. A very good dancing, writing, arithmetic and mathematical Master attends. N.B. Mr. Barry boards young gentlemen in his school in Dingle at £14 per annum and 2 guineas entrance; He takes the greatest care of the morals and health of his scholars and constantly attends them in the Summer season to bathing every morning in the salt water."²²

Isolated select schools of the type conducted by Rev. Mr. Barry at Dingle were in complete contrast to the considerable number of schools of the kind referred to by Arthur Young:

"Some degree of education is also general, hedge-schools, as they are called (they might as well be termed *ditch* ones, for I have seen many a ditch full of scholars) are everywhere to be met with, where reading and writing are taught; schools are also common for men; I have seen a dozen great fellows at school, and was told they were educating with the intention of being priests."²³

The school attended by Owen Roe O'Sullivan at Faha may be regarded as typical of the illegal Hedge Grammar Schools of this period. It has been authoritatively stressed that this school

"at Faha prepared students for the more advanced seminary at Killarney, where candidates were educated for Holy Orders, and was not a mere grinding establishment, but fostered poetry and music, and supplied a strong stimulus to genius. The course comprised, besides Irish, English, Latin and Greek. In Greek, Homer seems to have been the favourite and in Latin, Virgil, Caesar and Ovid . . . The classical school attracted students 'poor scholars' from the surrounding counties who were hospitably entertained free of charge in the farmhouses in the neighbourhood."²⁴

Owen Roe left Faha in 1766. He was then 18 years old and he immediately opened a school at Gneeveguilla where he taught in Greek, Latin, English and Irish.²⁵

Towards the closing quarter of the century, with the tardy relaxation of the Penal Laws, the continuity of hedge grammar school education in Kerry was more easily sustained. On September 2, 1773, Joseph Taylor, agent to Lord Shelburne wrote from Kenmare:

"as to scholmasters we have too many, and too many mere scholars, for we abound with schools and schoolboys, and it would be better that our youth should be hammering at the anvil than at bog Latin."²⁶

²²Cork Evening Post, July 17, 1769.

²³Tour of Ireland 1776-1779. Bohn's Standard Library. London 1892. Vol. II. p. 147.

²⁴Rev. P. S. Dinneen, S.J., *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Súilleabhain*. (Dublin, 1902) Introduction pp. X, XI.

²⁵Daniel Corkey, *The Hidden Ireland*. pp. 193-236.

²⁶Marquis of Lansdown, *Glanerought and the Petty-Fitzmaurices* (Oxford University Press, 1937). p. 90 (With

regard to bog-Latin, Professor R. A. S. Macalister states that this was "a common derivative term for 'gibberish' in Ireland, in order to distinguish it from ordinary Latin." This definition is not correct as applied to the Hedge Schoolmasters "as a favourite amusement . . . practised in the society of fellow-tutors was the composition of hexameters in bog-Latin, or mixed Latin and English." This exercise necessitated on the part of the Irish-speaking participants fluency in the other languages, e.g. as in the

George Holmes, the artist, who visited Kerry in 1797, with his observant friend John Harden, noted that the peasantry

"are very marked in their character . . . Their mental faculties are very acute and lively; and amongst the uncultivated part of the country, many may be met who are good Latin scholars, yet do not speak a word of English. Greek is also taught in the mountainous parts by some itinerant teachers."²⁷

In a debate on Education in Ireland in the British House of Commons in 1826, Maurice Fitzgerald (17th Knight of Kerry) said that

"the House appeared to be very much mistaken as to the degree in which education was wanted in Ireland. So far from being in the state of ignorance attributed to them, he was convinced that the peasantry of any district in Ireland would be found better educated than the inhabitants of any corresponding portion of the empire . . . At all events, he could answer for his own constituents, and was ready to set them against the peasantry of any part of England of the same dimensions as the county he had the honour to represent. The very poorest class of persons in that county were not alone capable of reading and writing, but were well versed in the higher attainments, in Arithmetic, Algebra, Greek and Latin. He did not mean to challenge the members of the hon. House, although he felt that, with the exception of the learned professions, and, perhaps, some coteries of blue-stocking ladies, the poor peasantry of the county Kerry were more learned than the majority of those who composed even the higher circles about London.—It was not an unusual thing to see a poor barelegged boy running about with a Homer, a Cicero, or a Horace under his arm. Indeed, it was the opinion of an individual well acquainted with Ireland, the father of a noble marquis (Lansdown), that the Irish peasantry did not want a literary education; that they already had enough of that, if not too much . . ."²⁸

It is not intended to convey in this article the impression that classical learning on a popular scale was practically confined to county Kerry during the XVIIIth century. It may reasonably be assumed however that such learning was more general there than in other counties, and it may be regarded as significant that Kerry in some instances is given first mention in this connection, e.g. in his reminiscences, Sir Jonah Barrington notes that

"in parts of Kerry and Mayo, however, I have met with peasants who speak Latin not badly";²⁹

and Coquebert de Montbret, who toured Galway in 1791, was satisfied that the schoolmasters who were attached to the chapels there were not as good at the classics as those of Kerry or even Mayo. He had visited Kerry in the

following specimen perpetrated by Egan O'Rahilly descriptive of the stopping by his long limbed landlady of the holes in the window of his lodging with sops of hay and dish cloths:

Est domus windosa, est et landladya
longa.

Soppibus et cloutis cupiens stoppara
fenestras

—See Macalister—*The Secret Languages of Ireland*—Cambridge, 1937. p. 90, and the *Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, op. cit. Introduction, p. XXXI).

²⁷*Sketches of some of the Southern Counties of Ireland collected during a*

Tour in the Autumn, 1797. (London, 1801) p. 151. Holmes cites Dr. Charles Smith in the above connection, but appears to have independently verified his statements.

²⁸Hansard. *Parliamentary Debates*. Vol. XV. Cols. 18 & 19. March 20, 1826.

²⁹*Personal Sketches of his own Times* (3rd Edn. London, 1869) p. 83. (With regard to the Munster method of teaching languages referred to previously, it is of interest that when Barrington went to Dr. Ball's school in Ship Street, Dublin, c. 1770, he "was required to learn the English Grammar in the Latin tongue; and to translate languages without understanding any of them." p. 33).

previous year where he observed *inter alia* that the O'Sullivans were greatly vain and were having their children taught English and Latin.³⁰

In his survey of the parish of Dungiven, Shaw Mason recorded that in the mountainy areas in Derry

"where education does not generally prevail, the few who receive any kind of instruction, surmount by ardent zeal and persevering talent, every obstacle to knowledge, and often arrive at attainments in literature, of which their wealthier and more favoured neighbours never dream. They have more peculiarly a taste for and facility in acquiring languages, which is very remarkable; everyone who converses with a mountaineer, acquainted with the English language, must be struck with the singular precision and eloquence of his expressions, which have the airs of a written than a colloquial stile; there is too a natural politeness and urbanity in their manner of address, which forms an agreeable contrast to the rough and ungracious salutation but too common among the descendants of the Scotch. Even in the wildest districts, it is not unusual to meet with good classical scholars; and there are several young mountaineers of the author's acquaintance, whose knowledge and taste with the Latin poets, might put to the blush many who have all the advantages of established schools and regular instruction."³¹

The understanding testimony of Shaw Mason to the prevalence and excellence of classical learning amongst the "mountaineers" of Derry is in strong contrast to the following prejudiced criticism, from the prolific pen of "Martin Doyle", of similar learning amongst the "mountaineers" of Kerry:

"There is a bad unprofitable kind of education which you should avoid . . . This doctrine, however, would not go down in the Kingdom of Kerry, where rich and poor are, or were some time ago, classical scholars. I recollect, some years back, riding through a valley in that county, and seeing a ragged fellow on a high rock, herding goats; I beckoned him to come down, and asked some questions on the romantic spot on which I stood. He did not understand one word I said, but addressed me very fluently in Latin. I was badly off there. We parted as wise as we met. It struck me that he must have been taught the Latin in Irish, for not one word of English could he speak, or even understand.

Not so another Latinist whom I fell in with the same day, who answered me in tolerable English (but with a little more of the brogue than I was accustomed to) all the questions I put to him. This was a schoolmaster who had emerged from his little schoolroom of sods, at the edge of a turf-bog, and had collected all his boys around him, under a sunny bank by the roadside. I asked him what he taught those fine boys? He answered that he taught them Latin and Greek, and that he hoped I would let him put them through their consthruin and parsin for me. I told him I was a bad judge of these matters, and was hurrying on to Dingle . . ."³²

"Martin Doyle" was a distinguished Minister of the Established Church in Ireland.³³ He had visited schools in Scotland and was therefore

³⁰*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Nouv. Acq. XXIII: 20.098*—"Chaque chapelle a un maitre d'école qui montre le catéchisme irlandais mais ils ne sont pas bons classiques comme ceux de Kerry et meme de Mayo."

20.099—"La vanité est grande parmi eux mais fait qu'ils font apprendre à leurs enfants l'anglais qu'ils parlent et fort purement, meme le Latin . . ."

³¹William Shaw Mason, M.R.I.A. *Parochial Survey of Ireland*. Dublin. 1814. pp. 313-4.

³²Rev. William Hickey, M.A. (T.C.D.). *Hints to the Small holders and Peasantry of Ireland*—communicated pseudonymously to the Wexford Herald, 1823-30. The above extract is quoted by Rev. Professor T. Corcoran, S.J., in his *Education Systems in Ireland* pp. 179-80 with the caption *Attack on Popular Classical Schools*.

³³*D.N.B.* Vol. XXVI. 1891. Edn. p. 356.

not unaware of the education system in operation there, whereby the parish schools were part of the church establishment being supported by a tax levied on and paid by the proprietors of the soil. A select Committee of the House of Commons was informed on August 24, 1835 that

"In the majority of the parochial schools in the north of Scotland, Latin is taught; indeed I may say in by far the greater number . . . Greek is also taught to a small extent."³⁴

Ascendancy disparagement of the hedge schools in Ireland, and particularly of those giving a classical education, derived entirely from religious and political considerations, exacerbated by the frustration attendant on the various organised movements to entice pupils from these schools.

"Public money had been lavished on societies and schools during the eighteenth century in a fashion unknown in England, but these efforts had been so identified with proselytism that every fresh scheme appeared only to arouse the dislike and suspicion of the Irish people and their spiritual leaders."³⁵

Minority objection to the

"great number of Schools . . . dispersed . . . in many parts . . . under the direction of Popish Masters, contrary to the Sense of several Acts of Parliament"³⁶

was almost without exception inspired by unreasoning dislike of the "Popish Masters," encouraged by the people generally.

"I allude here to the education acquired by the great mass of the common people . . . As to the manner in which it is conveyed, I cannot speak in terms of sufficient reprobation. The common schoolmaster is generally a man intended for the priesthood; but whose morals had been too bad, or whose habitual idleness so deeply rooted, as to prevent his improving himself sufficiently for that office. To persons of this kind is the education of the poor entirely entrusted; and the consequence is, that their pupils imbibe from them enmity to England, hatred to the Government, and superstitious veneration for old and absurd customs."³⁷

In the XIXth century, the National Board Schools displaced both the schools of the proselytising organisations and the hedge schools. With regard to classical education in particular, it was observed that

"the National Schools have had the effect, incidentally, of diminishing the number of classical schools; inasmuch as in many places, where there used to be a teacher earning a sustenance by combining instruction in Latin with the elementary branches, there is now a national schoolmaster teaching the latter only."³⁸

The National Board system made but negligible progress in County Kerry in the 1830's, but the noted accelerated decline of popular classical teaching there in the 1840's was brought about by the dispersal of the masters during the recurring distresses and consequent migrations of that decade. Most Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, recalled that

³⁴Evidence of Professor William Knight, University of Aberdeen, to H. of C. Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland. Evidence Part I 1835. Q. 5092 & Q. 5095 p. 437.

³⁵Graham Balfour. *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*. (Oxford. Clarendon Press. 2nd Edn. 1903). p. 78.

³⁶*Irish House of Commons Journal for 1769*. p. 663.

³⁷Edward Wakefield. *An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political* (London. 1812). Vol. II. p. 398.

³⁸*Endowed Schools Commission 1855-58. Vol. II. Documents*. p. 295—Account of Deputation headed by Sir Robert Kane, President, Queen's College, Cork, to Lord Lieutenant, 22 April, 1854

"It was long the proud boast of Kerry that numbers of young men came from many parts of Ireland to learn Greek and Latin in its schools. Many of you whom I now address counted students by the hundred who sat at the same benches with you, and who were generously taught without being asked whence they came or what they had to pay—the *famine swept away our old school-masters*."³⁹

II

In the autumn of 1829, Robert Day,⁴⁰ then in his 84th year revisited the scenes of his boyhood in County Kerry. He kept a diary of this visit and for Sunday, 27th September, the entry was :

"We proceed to Barrow & spend day & night with my worthy old school fellow & friend Jack Collis of the advanced age of 89 & who I was happy to find in the enjoyment of general good health; only somewhat impaired in memory as appear'd from his repetition more than once of the same *decies repetita* story. Probably he and I are the two oldest gentlemen now in Kerry. His white-headed nephew old Ned Collis another Banna Schoolboy swell'd the number of Grandsires at table, the 3 making together 249 years."

For the next day, Monday 28th September, 1829, the diary recorded :

"After breakfast we pay a visit to Mrs. Crosbie at Ardfert & after a couple of agreeable hours proceed to Robt & Elizth Stokes at their comfortable Farm House at Banna—are join'd at dinner by Major and Mrs. Craster, Lieut^s Aclan & Vereker & Mrs. & Miss Crosbie & their friend Miss Stack—in the evening comes a female reinforcement & it was spent in music & dancing—a very gay lively party—the Gentlemen however indulg'd too freely in their libations to Bacchus—

It was curious & quite satisfactory to find that so polite & agreeable a Party could be assembled amidst the wilds & sandhills that bound on the Atlantic—What pleasing recollections did Banna bring with it. Where my old school house stood & where in 1754 at the age of 8 my good Father a Protest Clergyman placed me under a R.C. Schoolmaster where the most respectable gentry of the county sent their children, a moral conscientious old Gentleman, & where I formed my first acquaintance with Johnny Crosbie afterwards Earl of Glandore."⁴¹

Robert Day was the third son of Rev. John Day of Lohercannon, Tralee, and his wife Lucy Fitzgerald, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry. Soon after his birth in 1746, the child

"in pursuance of a practice then usual in Ireland, was entrusted to a favourite tenant to be nursed, with whom he stay'd until he was 7 years of age & speaking solely the vernacular of the country, his familiarity with which afterwards proved of great advantage throughout his professional career as a counsel on circuit & as Judge of Assize."⁴²

His older brothers Edward and John were already pupils at Banna School when he joined them there after leaving the Irish-speaking farmer family at the Kerries.

³⁹Address in Synod at Killarney—16 February, 1869.

⁴⁰Robert Day (1745-1841) was called to the English and Irish Bars in 1774. Member for Tuam in Grattan's Parliament 1783-1790 and for Ardfert 1790-

1801. Voted for the Union. Judge of the King's Bench in Ireland 1798-1818. Favoured Catholic Emancipation.

⁴¹Royal Irish Academy—*The Day Papers*, 12/W/7.

⁴²*Day Papers*, 12/W/9, p. 147.

It is not possible, on the information now available, to indicate with certainty the year in which the classical school at Banna was commenced by John Casey. According to local tradition he began his career as a teacher in association with a member of the Cantillon family in a school at Ballyheigue. It is reputed that this school ceased when Cantillon left Kerry to join relatives in France, whereupon his assistant, John Casey opened a school of his own in nearby Banna. Francis Hewetson and Michael Madden appear to have been the first of many pupils of Casey's School to enter Trinity College, Dublin, which they did in the year 1755. A third pupil of the School, Edward Day, entered Trinity in the same year. It is unfortunate, for the purposes of this paper, that the College records for the period 1740-60 are defective.⁴³ It should be noted that the description of the school in the published list of graduates, &c., of the College is misleading—whilst the name of the master is correctly, but incompletely, given as *Mr. Casey*, the location of the school is inaccurately given as *Tralee*.⁴⁴

Banna adjoins the Atlantic coast midway between the villages of Ardfert and Ballyheigue. It is therefore a couple of miles north of Ardfert, and that "decayed borough" is about five miles north-east of Tralee. Banna Strand, near which Casey's school was situated, acquired the certainty of permanent mention in XXth century Irish history because of the landing there of Roger Casement by submarine from Germany immediately prior to the Rising of 1916. It would seem from the extract quoted from Robert Day's diary that the school-building in which he was a pupil from 1753 till 1760 had gone into ruin before his visit in 1829. It is certain that there is now no identifiable trace of it; according to parochial hearsay at the opening of the present century it was situated on the lands of Edmond Flaherty near where the National School was built in 1865. The site of "Casey's Latin School", or "The College" as it was also styled, was often shown to the present writer in the years 1900-04 while he was a pupil at Ardfert of Michael O'Riordan.⁴⁵

At the time (c.1750 et seq) when John Casey (a Catholic) was entrusted with the education of the sons of Rev. John Day and other Protestant parents, this was done in direct contravention of the Penal Act of 1709 prohibiting persons of the "popish religion" from teaching either publicly or privately. When in 1782 such persons were permitted, under licence, to engage in teaching, the relief provided by the Act of that year (already cited) was specifically withheld from

"any popish schoolmaster who shall receive into his school any person of the protestant religion."

⁴³ & ⁴⁴Burtchaell & Sadleir. *Alumni Dublinenses*. (London. 1924) pp. IX & XXI.

⁴⁵Michael O Riordain was appointed to Ardfert Primary School in 1875. He transferred to Barrow School in 1885. He returned to Ardfert in 1891, where

he continued till his death in 1922. He had much information on Casey's School, and he had a good collection of books used in that School, and in various Hedge and Hedge Grammar Schools in the unified parish of Ardfert, Kilmoily and Ballynahaglish (Churchill).

The nature and scope of the programme of education followed at Banna School as from the early years of its establishment may be inferred from the following letter addressed by Edward Day⁴⁶ to his father at Lohercannon. Edward was then 16 years old. His brother Jack,⁴⁷ mentioned in the post-script, was 13:

"Honoured Sir—As I had not the pleasure of a letter since I last came to Banna, I expect to have one now, as it would afford me vast satisfaction.

I send the Bearer according to your directions for the books. I am very sensible to the great exence you are at for my sake but hope not to prove ungrateful. The document that Mr. Madden gave you last Sunday, I hope did not displease you: I assure you Sir that I have endeavoured to deserve a good one.

I beg you'll speak to Mr. Lewis to send me Portroyal Greek Grammar and the first volume of Martin's Trigonometry and give my compliments to him and Mrs. Lewis.

I am Dr Dada (with love to my Brothers and Sisters) to you and my Mama a most dutiful son.

Edward Day, Junior.

Banna June the 19th 1755.

We hear there is to be an examination here soon. Send my Brother Jack his Dauphin Notes & Clarke's Justin & Westminster Greek Grammar."⁴⁸

On the record of Edward Day's entry to T.C.D. on 22 December 1755, his teacher's name is given as "Mr. Young." This was presumably Andrew Young of Tralee, and not Rev. Lewis Henry Young, whose School was in Dublin. There may have been a reason for registering the son of a Protestant clergyman as having been taught by a Protestant master, though there is ample evidence that Rev. John Day was not an upholder of the Penal Laws. There is evidence too that as from April 1755, the boy was being specially coached at Banna in preparation for the University, and that to this end responsibility for his progress in mathematics was assigned to Michael Madden, who was then on the staff of Casey's School, as the following curious agreement shows:—

"Articles of Concordance and Mutual Agreement concluded between Edwd Day Jun^r and Michael Madden

1. That the said Edwd shall from the time he goes to Banna every night duly and regularly go to bed at 9 o'clock, and when in bed compose himself as soon as he can to rest.
2. That every morning he shall rise at 5, or thereabouts, and after his devotions proceed on his mathematics and continue at them with close application for 2 hours⁴⁹

⁴⁶Rev. Edward Day, M.A., LL.D. (T.C.D.) succeeded his father, Rev. John Day, as Chancellor of the Diocese of Ardfer, 1777-1782. Collated Archdeacon July 6, 1782. "The Archdeacon was a wit and a clever epigrammatist. He had also written songs, the most popular of which, called 'One Bottle More', was sung until it was superseded . . ."—Ella B. Day. *Mr Justice Day of Kerry*. (Exeter. 1938)—p. 107.

⁴⁷"John Day of Cork is described as a wealthy merchant, and he became Mayor of Cork in 1806. He has left

several illustrious descendants, among them we find the names of three bishops, one of them being Godfrey Day, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland."—Ella B. Day. *op. cit.* p. 108.

⁴⁸*Day Papers*. 12/W/9, p. 163.

⁴⁹Even day boys were required to attend classes before breakfast in XVIIIth century Grammar Schools. A letterwriter to the *Cork Evening Post* of June 14th, 1787, recorded "When I went to the Latin School, . . . I was obliged constantly to attend in the morn-

3. That he shall in the course of his mathematical studies diligently observe the directions of the said Madden with respect to the part he is to read.
4. That the said Edward shall prefer the company of Mr. Casey and Madden to that of children, and always observe the reasonable advice of said two as to his conduct and company in general.
5. The said Day shall always and before all companies behave with decency and proper respect towards the said Madden, and never indulge in any conceit or ridiculous jest in company with the said Madden.
6. That when said Edw^d goes to Ardfert, after divine service is over, he shall not detach himself from the company of said Madden and join with other boys who are inclined to stay there, but shall always go home with said Madden, otherwise said Madden will not be answerable for his conduct.
7. That on condition said Edward conforms to the above articles, Madden on his part will use all his care and diligence to further and advance the said Edw^d in the several Branches of Mathematical Learning and will behave with all decency, respect and good nature toward the s^d Edw^d.
8. Lastly, that if the said Edw^d breaks thro the above articles necessary to support harmony and mutual esteem Madden will thenceforth renounce all communication with said Edw^d to the end of the World.

In Witness whereof said Parties have hereunto affixed their hands and seals this 4th day of April 1755 five.

Edw^d Day Jun^r.
Mich^l Madden.

Present: John Day⁵⁰

Michael Madden followed his pupil Edward Day to Trinity College, Dublin, which he entered on March 9, 1756. His accidental death, in the following year, is noticed as follows:

"Sept 17—Drowned at Rush, Mr. Michael Madden of Co. Kerry, a student of our University, of a most promising genius, and for his standing greatly advanced in the mathematical sciences."⁵¹

He apparently introduced the compact multiplication table which was adopted by the schools in the Ardfert area and continued in use there till the 1890's during which John Nealon, Master of Banna National School, required his pupils to perfect themselves in "*Madden's Tables*." An incomplete compilation of these Tables is as follows:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2	4	6	8	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3	6	9	12	15	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
4	8	12	16	20	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	10	15	20	25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
6	12	18	24	30	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
7	14	21	28	35	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
8	16	24	32	40	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9	18	27	36	45	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10	20	30	40	50	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11	22	33	44	55	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12	24	36	48	60	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
13	26	39	52	65	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

ing before breakfast and in the evening after dinner, in winter as well as in summer, and often by candlelight. We were always dismissed to breakfast at nine, and returned at ten; and to dinner at two and returned at half past three. My master, with great propriety, gave a month vacation at Christmas; and a

fortnight at each of the other two great festivals; but none in July."

⁵⁰*Day Papers*. 12/W/9. pp. 161-2.

⁵¹*From a contemporary publication—extract kindly supplied by Mr T. U. Sadleir.*

When Robert Day revisited Kerry in 1829, he was a guest of the Crosbie family at Ardfert Abbey. The entry in his diary for Wednesday, 30th September, reads:

"Rise early & traverse & retrace the much loved scenes of my boyish youthful & adult life with emotions of mingled pleasure & pain. Many a happy Sunday have I spent here from the neighbouring School of Banna wth my dear school-fellow & early & late friend, Johnny Crosbie; cherish'd by his Father Will^m Crosbie & still more by his excellent & virtuous mother Lady Theodosia Crosbie, Daughter of the Earl of Darnley, who always distinguished her own & her son's favourite by the flattering appellation of 'Honest Robin Day', a testimonial of w^{ch} down even to my old age, I have never ceased to be proud.

The first part of that early school connexion was the most cordial & disinterested friendship of John Crosbie (afterwards Lord Brandon, Visct Crosbie & Earl of Glandore) thro' life; returning me twice to Parl^t for his Boro', a free agent & without any consideration, in preference to any gentleman of his own name, and thus laying the foundation of my future growth & unmerited elevation"⁵²

John Crosbie⁵³ was seven years younger than his cousin, Robert Day. He remained at Banna School for two years after the latter had left for T.C.D. In the Bank Account of his father, Lord Brandon, with Messrs. La Touche⁵⁴ there are the following entries:

1762 Jan. 30	John Casey	£20
1763 June 6	"	£20

It is probable, therefore, that this figure of £20 represented Mr. Casey's annual inclusive charge for each pupil, though there is evidence that John Crosbie, while attending Banna School lived for some of the time at least at Ballyheigue with his cousins there. His father preserved the following letter written by the boy to him at his town house in Dawson Street, Dublin, about this time:

"Ballyhiegh, Wednes-
-day Apr 20 1763

My Dr Papa

I arived here Monday last, and did see Ballingarry yesterday. it is a very pretty Place indeed, it is out in the River Shannon, which may be called a Sea, for there is higher waves in it than in the Ocean I belive the reason of it is the Working & foming of the two Great Watters coming together occations it we could see ships on it. I hope you are well Pray tell me how is the new house going, on, my Gardens are very well tell Mr. Lehunt I have Auriculas larger than halph Crowns & tell him they are but young Slips. The Gardiner says the Next Year they will larger than any Crown they are of a fine Crimson with fine yellow spotts they are Great Beauties, I am beginning the 3^d Fable of the first Book of Ovid & the 3^d page of Erasmus, Major & Candid are shorn I hear you are to bring a Collar for Duchess, bring another for her pup Quail Duchess follows me every day to Banna

I am your
Dutiful Son
Jon Crosbie

Tell Mrs. Lehunt I have fine Double Jonquills in Flower since March

I beg you will send down my Cloths again my Birth Day or else I shall be undone send down in the side of the Box a Bowl and a pint employ Mr.

⁵²*Day Papers*—12/W/7.

⁵³John Crosbie, 2nd Earl of Glandore, M.A., F.R.S.; Colonel, Kerry Militia (on staff of Lord Cornwallis, 1798); favoured relaxation of Penal Laws; voted for the Union; disappointed in his expectations of Government reward for

his services; died at Ardfert Abbey, 1815. "The immediate cause of his Lordship's death was an apoplectic fit"—*The Examiner*, London. No. 411 Nov. 12, 1815.

⁵⁴*Crosbie (Lord Glandore) Papers*. National Library of Ireland.

Kennedy in buying them, make him buy gilt ones they will cost but two shillings I hope you wont forgett it Pray answer this next post"⁵⁵

In his youth, it was said of John Crosbie that "his understanding is excellent, his classical and historical knowledge and his memory very great."⁵⁶ By middle life he had assembled an excellent private library at Ardferf which his guests were encouraged to use.⁵⁷ It is evident that his latent love of learning received encouragement through the somewhat unique teaching methods in his first school.

"The Master was Mr. Casey a R. Catholic of independent & liberal mind, although he personally incurred some trouble under the penal laws then in force. But the unsectarian and substantial instruction imparted at Banna School had a salutary and lasting influence on the intellects and sentiments of those educated there.

The good Pedagogue amongst other useful exercises accustomed his pupils to the regular habit of committing to memory copious passages of the classics & to the frequent practice of the amusing but now obsolete game of 'Captus' or capping verses which was played thus:

Two Rivals having been pitted against each other one of them recited a line of Latin poetry, usually an hexameter; to which his antagonist replied with a line commencing with the last letter of his antagonist's verse; to which the other rejoined in a similar manner, and thus they continued bandying quotations until the stock of one side beginning to fail, the other had succeeded in declining the adjective 'captus' before his opponent could furnish the requisite line of poetry in his turn.

The effect of this intellectual conflict was to store the memory with a treasure of classical quotations ready for use and display in after life . . ."⁵⁸

Another "useful exercise" customary in Banna School was the practice of synonymous reading in the teaching of English. According to local tradition, Mr. Casey encouraged his pupils to introduce as many synonyms as possible during reading in English by the class in common. As the reading progressed, all the boys—prompted by the teacher—interjected words of indentical or similar meaning. In this way they acquired an extended vocabulary and a consequent fluency of expression. "*Banna Reading*" was commonly adopted for use in the many schools in the neighbourhood of Ardferf in which English was taught in the last decades of the XVIIIth century and the opening decades of the XIXth century during which there was a rapid decline in the use of Irish in the area. When De Latocnaye visited Ardferf in 1793, the majority of the congregation attending Mass was still Irish-speaking, but there was a substantial minority even then whose sole language was English.⁵⁹

⁵⁵*Crosbie Papers* N.L.I.

⁵⁶Letter of 20/9/73 from Robert Day to his father. *Day Papers*. 12/W/9.

⁵⁷Dr. Barnard, Bishop of Limerick, quoted by Constantia Maxwell in *Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges*. (Dundalk, 1945). p. 27.

⁵⁸*Day Papers*—12/W/9, pp. 148-9.

⁵⁹"Tout le monde à-peu-près, est Catholique dans cette partie: ils s'accoutument assez bien entre eux le peuple va à la messe et le ministre prêche et édifie sa famille, sans que ni

les uns ni les autres paraissent s'inquiéter de quelle religion ils sont le reste de la semaine, à moins que ce ne soit pour payer ou pour recevoir les dixmes. Je fus le dimanche à la chapelle Catholique. Les femmes sont toujours séparées des hommes à l'Eglise: il semblerait que ce soit pour les empêcher d'avoir des distractions. *Le prêtre tint au milieu de l'office un long discours en Irlandais, dont il traduisit ensuite la principale partie en Anglais.*" *Promenade d'un Français dans l'Irlande 1793*, (Seconde Edition 1801) par De Latocnaye. p. 140.

The Day families were consistent supporters of Banna School throughout the 1760's. In 1765, William Day,⁶⁰ youngest son of Rev. John Day of Lohercannon, entered T.C.D. from Banna; followed in 1768 by his cousin, James Day,⁶¹ son of Rev. Edward Day, Rector of Tralee. Maynard Denny, of the Tralee family of that name, was a fellow-pupil of James Day at Banna and entered T.C.D. with him.

During this period the School appears to have reached its best, and the Master was investing in land despite the disabilities in this respect imposed by the Penal Code. In 1769, he was in real danger of losing his property had not the intervention of his patron, Rev. John Day, saved him from such disaster. The circumstances are recorded in a letter of 17 April 1769 addressed from Lohercannon to Charles Casey at Bath:

"My dear Cha^s—I thank you for your kind letter of the 22^d and am rejoiced to hear that after the many perils you have gone thro' both by sea and land you have at length got safe to your destination. Your friends at Banna are well and you have heard no doubt that your father has finally settled with Millar at the rent expected. But I dont know whether you have heard that a villainous scheme was meditating to deprive your father of Tonevane, by filing a Bill of Discovery on the value. This practice has become so common in the country that nobody nowadays is ashamed of it. Providentially he had some hint given him of what was brewing, and terrified out of his wits he and the Dr. came to me to consult what was fit to be done. We went together to Ned Tuohy whom I got without loss of time to draw a Bill of Discovery *in my name* which I sent to Tom Franks who instantly put it on the file. So that we now defy the devil and all his imps. If they had kept their own counsel, B.D. or his major might have availed themselves completely of the discovery and thereby ruined your whole family—but now they may throw their cap at it . . .

All this family joins in best compts with

Yr truly aff. servant, John Day"⁶²

In each of the five years 1770-1774, boys who had been prepared by John Casey at his School at Banna entered the University of Dublin. The following particulars of some of the boys who went from Banna to T.C.D. during these years are contained in *Alumni Dublinenses: op. cit.*

1770. Edward Day
George Gun
Alexander Martin

1772. Stephen Donlevy

1771. John Lewis
Thomas Morris
Thomas Stroughton

1773. John Falvey
John Mahony
Richard Mahony

1774. Richard Sealy.

⁶⁰Scholar 1768. B.A. 1770. M.A. 1773. Fellow 1774. D.D. 1788. Rector of Drumragh; died 1791.

⁶¹Scholar 1771. B.A. & M.A. 1809. "Among the 'mighty important personages' of old Tralee was Bob's cousin, the Reverend James Day, who was both Rector and Provost of the town. An autocrat in the pulpit as well as in the Assembly Rooms, he arrogated to himself the right not only to direct the way to Heaven but also to bar the way there . . . As Provost he kept a keen eye on weights and measures and on the price of turf and all farm produce. His better

half was no less remarkable, as she swept through the town on market days . . ." *Mr Justice Day of Kerry*. p. 94.

⁶²*Day Papers 12/W/9*. ("a practice . . . of evading, by the assistance of Protestants, a portion . . . of the laws relating to landed property—A Protestant friend filed a bill of discovery against a Catholic landlord, obtained the legal title to his estate, held it in trust for him, and enabled him under the shelter of a Protestant name to evade the chief disabilities of the code." Lecky, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. Vol. II. p. 197.)

On the information at present available to the writer it is not possible to indicate when Mr. Casey's active life as a teacher ceased. The death of his widow occurred in

"March 1790—at Ardfert, Co. Kerry, in the 104th year of her age, the relict of the late John Casey of Banna. She was born in 1686, two years before the Revolution and enjoyed all her faculties to the last."⁶³

At the time of her death, Mrs. Casey was very probably residing with her son Charles at Ardfert in the house previously occupied by his uncle, Dr. Casey, who had been the trusted local medical attendant of the Crosbie family for many years.⁶⁴ Dr. Casey's house is now in the possession of the Carmody family. The farm lands attaching to it were extended by Charles Casey as far northwards as Banna cross-roads. This "T" junction was, up to recent years, known as "Charles's Cross". Charles Casey, in the later years of his life, held the appointment of land-agent to his school-fellow and friend, John Crosbie. He is mentioned in an interesting account of "An Irish Tenant Gala" held at Ardfert Abbey in 1793:

"None who were not tenants did I invite except those named by you, viz. Father Morgan Flaherty, Tim McCarthy, Charles Casey, Doctor Leyne, and Father Nelan, son of old John. These I asked as Catholics particularly attached to you. Had I gone further I must either have excited jealousy, or summoned half the county. We had a company of 22 in the parlour . . . In the breakfast parlour there was another company of second-rate, and the third rate dined in the tent pitched in the Avenue near the Abbey. In the parlour your claret was made free with, as Stephen tells me he opened 34 bottles. In the breakfast-parlour Port-wine and Rum-punch were supplied in abundance, and abroad large libations of whiskey-punch, we had two quarter casks (about 80 Gallons) of that beverage made the day before, which was drawn off unsparingly for those abroad, and plenty of Beer besides. Two patereroes borrowed from Jack Collis, and placed on the top of the Abbey tower, announced our dinner, and toasts, and our exultation. Pipers and fiddlers enlivened the intervals between the peals of the Ordnance . . . All was Happiness, Mirth and Good Humour. God save Great George our King was cheered within and abroad with Fiddles, Pipes, &c. &c."⁶⁵

Charles Casey died in January 1804. He was the last of his family in Ardfert.

NOTE

For references required by him in the compilation of Part I of the foregoing paper, the writer desires to record his gratitude to Miss C. Bonfield, B.A., (Royal Irish Academy Library), Mr. R. O. Dougan, F.L.A., (Trinity College Library), Miss S. G. Kennedy, M.A., (University College, Galway), Mr. A. T. Lucas, M.A., (National Museum), Mr. Patrick O'Connor (National Library), and Mr. T. U. Sadlier, M.A., (King's Inns Library); and to Miss Ella B. Day, (Waverley Abbey) and Mrs. Bridie Kavanagh (Ardfert) for information concerning Banna School (Part II).

⁶³Quoted from the *University Magazine and Review*—Cuttings from *Kerry Evening Post*. Vol. VIII. p. 117. (Royal Irish Academy Library).

⁶⁴Crosbie (*Lord Glandore Papers*).

⁶⁵Quoted in *Notes and Queries*. 2nd Series. Vol. IX. Jan.-June 1860. pp. 421-2.

SOME 18th CENTURY IRISH TOMBSTONES (Continued)

VII. CLONMEL, KILTOOM, SEIR KEIRAN, ETC.

By A. K. Longfield (Mrs. H. G. Leask), *Fellow*

The last of a series of six articles¹ about ornamentation on certain late 18th and early 19th Irish tombstones appeared in this *Journal* for December, 1948. So many more decorated stones have been observed since then, however, that it is hoped a few supplementary articles may prove of interest—perhaps even of value to students of folk art.

The majority of the patterns previously recorded here were found in Co. Wexford, east Co. Wicklow, south-east Co. Carlow and south-east Co. Louth. As many showed names of the carvers, e.g. Dennis Cullen, Miles Brien, James Byrne, etc., it was possible to trace the development of individual styles and distinctive interpretations of the Crucifixion scene. But besides noting various ambitious designs, attention was drawn to some simpler memorials (usually unsigned) having decoration almost entirely composed of emblems of the Passion arranged around a central crucifix—for instance, as on several rather curious examples of about 1786, at Kilnenor,² near Arklow, in Co. Wexford. Many of the stones to be described now belong to this latter class, and have been seen in areas as far apart as Co. Tipperary, Co. Offaly, Co. Roscommon, as well as in Co. Wexford.

It has been suggested that the popularity of these emblems on memorials in the 18th century may be partly attributed to their incorporation in the ornamentation of important altar tombs and monuments, erected in churches, in the 16th and 17th centuries. At the same time it must be admitted that the comparatively limited range—such as the hammer, pincers, nails, ladder, thirty pieces of silver, etc.—in general use on later 18th century headstones in graveyards, hardly required any more specific source of inspiration than that provided by imagination and the influence of traditional symbolism. Consequently there is a special interest about a small group of rather earlier stones³ (i.e. mid 18th century) located in and about Clonmel, because on them the manner in which some of the emblems are executed, and also the greater variety, really does exhibit some resembl-

¹*J.R.S.A.I.* Vols. 73-78 (1943-48).

²*Ib.* Vol. 76 (1946) p. 85 and Pls. V and VIII.

³Owing to sinking into the soil, etc., stones in graveyards with obituary dates prior to 1750 or so, are now seldom visible.

ance to the style of the older tombs. Perhaps this resemblance merely represents a short-lived phase in local fashion, and not a general trend in decorative evolution. In any case the fact that visual sources of inspiration were easily available, e.g., not only in Kilkenny, but even in Clonmel, must have been of significance. The unknown craftsman of the stones at Kilsheelan, for instance, can hardly have failed to have been influenced by the 16th-17th slab so conveniently near at hand in Clonmel—and still to be seen there, set in a wall in the grounds of the Sisters of Charity in Morton Street.⁴

The apparent nucleus of this small group would seem to have been at Kilsheelan (5 miles to the east of Clonmel) for it is there that most of the specimens occur, and also those with the earlier obituary dates. All are somewhat crudely carved, as befits the quality of the limestone employed, and (with two possible exceptions) are almost certainly by the same unknown hand. Superficially the designs are very similar also, though closer examination shows that a little variety was achieved by slight alterations in the positions of details on each individual stone. Again, apart from emblems portrayed in the manner of the older Clonmel slab—particularly the seamless garment and the sponge on the hyssop—several distinctive conventions are used. Thus the hammer and pincers are depicted neatly sticking out of a bucket-like holder, instead of being disposed haphazard near the ladder; the cock is shown on the flagellation pillar, and not on the pot of Apocryphal tradition; a bag-like receptacle is thoughtfully provided for the thirty pieces of silver, and the representation of the tomb includes the large entrance stone nearby. Still more interesting and uncommon are the *groups of three stars*. So far no definite explanation can be offered for their appearance amongst the emblems of the Passion, though it may be tentatively suggested that they were substituted for the sun and moon—so frequently depicted on decorated headstones.

As can be seen from *Pl. XXI*, many of these features (including the three stars) occur on the stone of c. 1721, to E. White, at Kilsheelan. Whether this, and a much weathered memorial of c. 1735, to James Hogan, are early examples by the craftsmen who executed the slightly later stones of this type, or are by another unknown carver, is uncertain. Details, such as the shape of the top of the stone of c. 1721, the *plain cross*, the skull and cross bones and the modelling of the ropes attached to the pillar, rather imply another hand—but one also influenced by the older slabs as regards the delineation of the palm branch, the sponge on the hyssop (instead of on a spear, or on a pole) and the Crown of Thorns. Fortunately the question is not of importance and scarcely affects the interest of the main specimens in the group, which all show obituary dates between 1741-1755. Again the manner in which slight variations in pattern have been adjusted to the shapes of the stones is better exemplified from illustration, than through verbal description. It should be noted, though, how similar is the careful modelling of the seamless garment on the earlier Clonmel slab to the gar-

⁴Photography is nearly impossible because of railings and a narrow passage.



(Above) KILSHEELAN (Co. Tipp.). To E. White, *ob.* 1721. Unsigned.

(Below) KILSHEELAN. To P. Dwyer. *ob.* 1743. Unsigned.



(Above) KILSHEELAN. To P. Neal, *ob.* 1752. Unsigned.
 (Below) KILSHEELAN. To —. White, *ob.* 1752. Unsigned.

ments shown on three of the stones at Kilsheelan—i.e. on those to Philip Dwyer, *ob.* 1743 (*Pl. XXI*); to Philip Neal, *ob.* 1752 to —White, *ob.* 1755 (*Pl. XXII*). By contrast the robe on the stone to Alice Shea, *ob.* 1748 (*Pl. XXIII*) is relatively indifferently executed, whilst exigencies of space necessitated the massing of the thirty pieces of silver into a square block, instead of the conventional vertical piles.

Three more specimens in good condition survive at Killamery (*c.* 1741); at Kilkieran, in Co. Kilkenny (*c.* 1750); and at Old St. Mary's, Clonmel. Indeed the last commemorating John Slattery, who died in 1753 (*Pl. XXIII*) is remarkably well preserved. Like the stone to Philip Neal at Kilsheelan, the shape of the top is particularly high and narrow, so that the details are rather crowded. The robe, for instance, has been so much reduced in size that it is not much larger than the pieces of dice—incidentally here placed near the ladder, instead of next the cock and pillar.

It is probable that additions to this list could be made by intensive search in *all* the old graveyards within a reasonable radius of Clonmel, but as the style varies comparatively little, the group is fairly well represented by the specimens shown here. It is interesting to note, however, that the few decorated stones of later date in the locality are without any of the distinctive features of the mid-18th century ones. Thus a memorial of *c.* 1791, at Killclispeen (Ahenny) is more like that of *c.* 1798, to E. Phealon, at Inistioge,⁵ and is also in the style of the stones to Elizabeth Joyce and James Byrne (*ob.* 1781 and 1780 respectively), in St. Stephen's graveyard, New Ross (*Pl. XXIV*). In addition to a somewhat shapeless garment the latter includes the more rarely shown veil of St. Veronica. At Carrickbeg (Carrick-on-Suir) two memorials of *c.* 1813 and 1814⁶ follow the general trend of early 19th century patterns, and large chalices and monstresances replace some of the less well known—and less easily carved—symbols.

In the old graveyard at Kiltoom, Co. Roscommon, are two curious and unsigned designs on stones erected to Andrew Ginnly, and Hugh and Thomas Kelly. Both memorials have sunk so much into the ground that only on the latter is an obituary date—1741—visible, but it would seem that the former was also cut about the same time and probably by the same unknown carver. Search in neighbouring graveyards did not reveal further examples, and though it is possible that others exist, the general crudeness of the execution suggests that they were done by a man more practised in carrying out the lettering of obituary notices, than in cutting ornamental details for the tops of headstones. As can be seen from the accompanying illustration of the Kelly stone (*Pl. XXIV*) there is a marked contrast between the excellence of the older high relief form of lettering, and the decorative portion. The crude crucifixion, the tripod arrangement of the pincers and hammer, the absurdly small cock issuing out of a large pot (the pot of Apocryphal tradition), the clumsy spear, flail and lantern, display a certain

⁵Illustrated in *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 76 (1946) Pl. V.

⁶To M. Skehan and M. Healy.

Reported and sketched by Miss I. Grubb in 1949. Perhaps not visible now owing to alterations in the graveyard.

näive ingenuity, but little evidence of training in monumental art. Then too there are the exceptionally large pieces of silver. These, incidentally, are only fifteen in number, whereas the whole thirty are invariably shown—in some formation or other—elsewhere. Perhaps the large size was intentional and symbolic of double the number, rather than the result of inexpert planning and consequent lack of space.

Owing to the injurious effects of lichen and weathering, no photograph (suitable for reproduction) could be taken of the other stone at Kiltoom. This is unfortunate because the design includes a large half-opened coffin beside the crucifixion—a detail not at all uncommon in England,⁷ but rarely found in Ireland, except in Resurrection scenes of much earlier date. Otherwise the few remaining details are not of special interest. Again there is a small cock on a large skillet-shaped pot and (this time) the full complement of the thirty pieces of silver appears.

If the Kiltoom stones are isolated examples by an unpractised carver, four more apparently equally isolated specimens, by two or three other unknown hands, are to be found at Seir Keiran, Co. Offaly. There is this difference at Seir Keiran, however, for whoever executed the memorial of c. 1774, erected by Peter Brooder in memory of his father, Hugh Brooder (*Pl. XXV*), and that to James and Mary Mooney, who died in 1790 and 1791 respectively, (*Pl. XXV*) was not without experience in the decorative side of monumental work. The attractive liveliness of the centurions mounted on their prancing horses, of the lance-bearers in the act of thrusting, compares quite well with the best of the Crucifixion scenes by Cullen and Brien.⁸ But though, like Cullen, the artist of the Brooder and Mooney stones also clothes his figures in contemporary costume, he seems to have preferred to embellish the remaining spaces with a few of the simpler emblems of the Passion, rather than with the crowd of attendant figures so characteristic of much Wicklow-Wexford-Carlow work. Moreover, there is very little difference between these two designs. Thus in both the dice and the oinment jar appear above the crucifix; the ladder, pincers, nails and hammer on one side are balanced by the flails and sprightly cocks on suitably sized pots on the other, and the thirty pieces of silver are made to provide a convenient border at the bottom of the pattern.

Because of their weathered and lichen-mutilated condition, little can be said about two other ornamental headstones at Seir Keiran—except that they are of slightly later date and apparently by two more unknown, and rather less expert hands. Indeed, from what can just be discerned of a crucifix, cock and pot, hammer, ladder and nails, the execution of the stone to John McDanile (who died in 1804) is quite exceptionally crude. Still less is discernible on the second stone, though such traces of the ambitious Crucifixion scene⁹ as remain are fairly well cut.

⁷See F. Burgess "English Churchyard Sculpture" in the *Geographical Magazine*, Jan., 1950, pp. 359-366.

⁸*J.R.S.A.I.* Vols. 73 and 74 (1943 and 1944) pp. 29-39 and 63-72.

⁹Several soldiers, who appear to be fighting, are on one side; the Virgin and at least two other figures are on the other side. Obituary details illegible.



(Above) KILSHEELAN. To A. Shea, *ob.* 1748. Unsigned.

(Below) Old St. Mary's, Clonmel. To J. Slattery,
ob. 1753. Unsigned.



(Above) ST. STEPHEN'S, NEW ROSS. To E. Joyce, *ob.* 1781 and J. Byrne, *ob.* 1780. Unsigned.

(Below) KILTOOM (Co. Roscommon). To H. and T. Kelly, *ob.* c. 1741. Unsigned.

The real interest of these last mentioned examples, however, is not so much in the poor state of their ornamentation, as in the fact that they are ornamented at all. From the negative results of a somewhat cursory examination of neighbouring graveyards, it looks as if the Seir Keiran stones represent "special orders" done by *itinerant* "monumental specialists" and not the output of a local school. Nevertheless their existence in an area not otherwise rich in such work once more illustrates the strength of this form of traditional folk art, and of how examples may be found in relatively unexpected and far separated localities.¹⁰

Finally, two memorials from Co. Wexford are included for the sake of contrast as well as for their intrinsic merit. It is a pity that the design at Castle Ellis commemorating Juley Murphy, who died in 1757 (*Pl. XXVI*) is unsigned, because some of the details are unusual and unlike the later patterns by Cullen and Byrne that are also in the same graveyard. The heavy cloaks in which the Virgin, St. Joseph(?) and the Magdalene are clothed, are far nearer the ordinary garb of that period than the conventional draperies so frequently depicted, or the fashionable pannier-skirted dresses occasionally shown on Brien's stones.¹¹ The small scale figure of Stephaton, the lance-bearer, in contemporary military uniform differs little from the soldiers on Cullen's stones, but the large hour-glass is a motive rarely seen in Crucifixion scenes, though often forming the main decorative motive on plainer memorials elsewhere.¹² Traces of flakng incidentally suggest that there was a moon in addition to the star-like sun. Judging from the obituary date of 1757, the craftsman who carried out this memorial was probably at least a decade prior to Cullen, and the earlier period may account for the fact that no other specimens seem to have survived. Fortunately this particular example is in a relatively protected position—inside railings made up of pikes, etc., put up in memory of Father Murphy of Vinegar Hill, who is buried there too.

The old graveyard of Killincooly is situated about seven miles from Castle Ellis and nearer the Wexford coast. As an amazing variety of decorated and signed stones has been noted there, it has been mentioned in this *Journal*¹³ before in connexion with Brien and Byrne. Again in 1946,¹⁴ reference was made to a badly weathered pattern commemorating John Conner who died in 1799 and bearing the legend "J. Butler"—the *only specimen signed* by this carver that had been found at the time. A more recent visit in better weather, however, facilitated photography, and the illustration of the memorial to Dennis Cannon, who died in 1796 (*Pl. XXVI*), shows that it too is signed by Butler—albeit in an unexpected place, i.e. on the upper edge of the stone instead of below the pattern. Except for a little heart-shaped device that has also been noted on unsigned work at Donaghmore and Ardamine, the Conner stone is not of special interest. The crucifix, hammer, etc., are rather crudely cut, whereas the

¹⁰e.g. A stone of c. 1777 at Killashee, near Naas, illustrated in *Kildare Arch. Jour.*, Vol. 13 (1950-52) p. 133.

¹¹See *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. 74 (1944) Pls. IV, VII and VIII.

¹²e.g. in England and Northern Ireland.

¹³*J.R.S.A.I.* Vols. 74 and 75 (1944 and 1945).

¹⁴*Ib.* Vol. 76, p. 84.

execution of the Cannon stone is far better, and several of the details are quite distinctive. Even if the crucifix triumphing over the serpent of evil, and the large sun, were probably imitated from Byrne's patterns, the facing figure of the Virgin, and the two other attendant figures are rather differently, and far more gracefully arranged than are the figures on most Co. Wexford Crucifixion scenes. And whereas a well-defined man in the moon with arm outstretched has occasionally been seen elsewhere,¹⁵ the additional reptile depicted under the moon on this stone is as unusual as the supposed symbolism is obscure.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. and Mrs. P. O'Connell, Miss I. Grubb and the late Mr. P. Lyons for information about the Clonmel district, and to my husband for all the photographic work which made illustrations possible.

¹⁵On unsigned stones at Kilnencor of c. 1803 and 1819; at Inch, near Arklow, of c. 1809; at Ballintemple, near

Woodenbridge, of c. 1811. On these a palm branch is held in the outstretched hand.



(Left) SEIR KEIRAN (Co. Offaly). To H. Brooder, *ob.* 1774. Unsigned. (Right) SEIR KEIRAN. To J. and M. Mooney, *ob.* 1790 and 1791. Unsigned.



(Above) CASTLE ELLIS (Co. Wexford. To J. Murphy,
ob. 1757. Unsigned.

(Below) KILLINCOOLY (Co. Wexford). To D. Cannon,
ob. 1796. Signed "J. Butler" on upper edge of stone.

MISCELLANEA

1. MALAHIDE " ABBEY ", CO. DUBLIN.

Sheela na Gig (Plate XXVII, centre)

In the ruined mediaeval church standing in the ancient cemetery to the east of Malahide Castle there are many interesting features of 15th-16th century date. From an earlier period is a red sandstone measuring $19\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ " which has been built as a coigne into the north-east angle of the choir at the springing of the gable. It shows a " framed " primitive figure in false relief.

The composition is unusually crude. The abnormally large and shapeless head, the short neck and squashed body, and the very inadequate legs suggest a caricature. While the battered nose is due mainly to weathering, the curious downcast eyes and the drooping gash of a mouth in a flat putty-like face are typical of a certain class of pre-Norman native sculpture. The figure fills the frame formed by the uncut edge of the stone; it is apparently seated, the fingers of the left hand resting on one knee, the other hand not discernible.

The Malahide figure belongs to the series of Irish stone carvings termed *Sheela na Gigs* of which over fifty are known. These have been recorded in a paper entitled " Irish Sheela na Gigs in 1935 " in the *Journal*¹ by Dr. Edith M. Guest. In the majority of cases the sexual characteristics are female, as in the present example, hence the belief that they belong to an ancient fertility cult. On the other hand, their association with early churches is undeniable and in explanation of this the theory has been advanced that the *Sheelas* were set up as warnings to the faithful of the horrible results of sin and excess.

A dating anywhere between the 8th and the 12th centuries A.D. is possible for *Sheela na Gigs*. From its resemblance to the figures in some of our early cross-slabs, the Malahide *Sheela* could quite easily be as old as 8th century A.D.

Sheela na Gig? (Plate XXVII, left)

A second stone of similar material and style of workmanship, measuring 10×10 ", is built into the south edge of the east gable. Here the facial features are better defined. The mouth is open, the tongue protruding slightly and the jaw sharply defined. The stone appears to have been broken off at the junction of neck and body.

The two carvings are not only co-eval, but they are the work of the same craftsman. It may be assumed that they were fashioned for and served the same purpose.

Dr. Guest in her list for Co. Dublin² does not mention the Malahide figures. This is understandable because the church was covered with thick ivy until Spring 1953 when the present Lord Talbot de Malahide organised a general tidying up of the church and graveyard.

P. J. Hartnett.

¹J.R.S.A.I. lxvi (1936), 107 ff.

²op. cit., 123.

ROSSINVER CHURCH AND GRAVEYARD, CO. LEITRIM.

Early Christian Grave Slab (Plate XXVIII)

The ruined church stands in a walled graveyard on the eastern shore of Lough Melvin in the north of the county. It occupies the site of what was formerly an ancient Celtic foundation. Close by is a Holy Well dedicated to St. Mogue.

Of the once elaborate church only the partly rebuilt east gable stands to the full height. The original triple-light mullioned window has been altered and its sandstone dressings re-used to make two narrow ogee headed opes with deep inward splays.

Just inside the castellated gate entrance may be seen a red sandstone slab marking a modern grave. The slab, a coarse red sandstone, measures 38" x 21" and is of an average thickness of 3". It stood at the head of a modern grave, certainly not in its original position, and about 12" of it was buried in the ground. It was removed for the purpose of the photograph (Plate XXVIII). The cross has expanded or cup-shaped terminals and is deeply incised in triple lines. The layout of the cross is interesting and shows a certain amount of forethought on the part of the designer. At the junction of the arms are three concentric circles of which the innermost only is a complete ring, the middle and outer ones are interrupted to join with the corresponding lines of the terminals. The lines and curves are not mathematically perfect but this is due more to the roughness of the material than to the artist's incompetence. There is no inscription on the stone.

Cross slabs of this class occur on early Christian sites of 7th to 10th century A.D., though they are not so widespread as one might imagine. Sometimes they carry inscriptions in the Irish language in which the formula "*Ór do.....*" (pray for.....) is frequently found. Interlaced ornament, generally at the centre and within the cup-shaped terminal expansions, is common. Examples of different types of cross slabs, including close parallels for our Rossinver slab, are found at Clonmacnois,³ Glendalough,⁴ Gallen Priory⁵, and St. Berihert's⁶ Church at Tullylease, Co. Cork. A date in the first quarter of the 9th century is suggested for the Rossinver stone.

Second Cross Slab (Plate XXVIII)

In the same graveyard at a short distance to the south-west a thin slab marking another grave came to light during clearance work. This stone, (Plate XXVIII. Drawing based on a photograph of the stone), 2" in thickness and tapering gradually from 16" at the base to 13" at the top, has in it a cross head in false relief standing on a shaft formed of double incised lines. The central lozenge-shaped "boss" is joined by short raised ribs to spade-shaped terminals linked by two concentric circles, and an inner circle surrounds the central "boss". There is no inscription.

Crosses showing affinities with this occur among the Clonmacnois slabs (Nos. 85-89; 94-96) and are dated pre-10th century. Another comes from Tullylease.⁷ The type is simple and could recur at any time. Such pointers as there are would suggest an early Christian rather than a mediaeval date.

As far as is known, these slabs have not previously been recorded.

P. J. Hartnett.

³Clonmacnois Memorial Slabs. (Macalister) and 75th Report of O.P.W.

⁴O.P.W. Glendalough Report.

⁵Kendrick in *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxi (1939)

p. 10, Fig. 3.

⁶Leask in *J.C.H.A.S.*, xliii (1938), 101 ff, and Plate XIII and Figs. 1 and 2.

⁷Leask, *loc. cit.*, p. 105, Fig. 5a.



Malahide, Co. Dublin: (left) Figure in E. gable of "Abbey". (centre) Figure in N.E. corner of "Abbey". (right) Abbeylara, Co. Longford: Figure in Tower of Cistercian Abbey.



Rossinver, Co. Leitrim: (left) Early Christian Grave Slab. (right) Cross-slab. Drawing based on a photograph.

ABBEYLARA, CO. LONGFORD.

Sculptured figure of "Sheela na Gig" (Plate XXVII)

Sir William Wilde first drew attention to the presence of an alleged *Sheela na Gig* in the tower of the Cistercian Abbey here. Dr. Guest in her paper already quoted⁸ refers to Wilde's *Catalogue* but adds that it was impossible (1935) to locate the stone as it was obscured by ivy. Mention is made of "the grotesque female figure.....known as Sheela na Gig" in the gazetteer of the Automobile Association's valuable *Road Book of Ireland* (Revised edition) p. 124.

The rather meagre remains of the central tower rest on four massive arches belonging to the original 13th century Abbey. Two of these (north and south) were built up at a later period using some of the freestone dressings from the earlier building in the blocking walls. One stone, a sandstone, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ is built and mortared into the later wall at a height of 8 feet from the present (12 feet from the old) floor level. It projects 4" from the wall and is a carving in the round of a caricature-like figure.

Seen from below the stone looks like a *Sheela na Gig* but closer examination of the enlarged photograph and of the stone itself on the occasion of a recent visit suggests something quite unusual. The face and truncated body are badly weathered. The arms are held close to the sides with forearms bent forward to hold an oval or lozenge-shaped sunken shield in which is a figure in low relief of an infant. The infant's head and shoulders are quite distinct and the vertical grooves which misled Wilde into ascribing the figure to the *Sheela na Gig* group of carvings indicate the legs. The shield or "cradle" is $7'' \times 4''$ and is completely filled by the child figure.

Whether the Abbeylara sculpture is taken as a crude representation of a Virgin and Child, or whether it represents yet another facet of the neopagan cult of fertility of which the *Sheela na Gig* is one form of expression, the stone was of sufficient importance to merit its being built into a prominent part of the church. It is a fact that most of our *Sheelas* are found associated with early churches. If this be one, it is quite different from any others so far recorded and the possibility of its being an attempt to suggest the unborn should not be overlooked.

P. J. Hartnett.

NEWGRANGE PASSAGE GRAVE, CO. MEATH.

Deposit of worked flints

Recently, a cable trench 12" wide and 18" to 24" deep was dug during the course of the installation of electric light in the tumulus; and as it approached the perimeter, it ran concentrically at 6 feet outside the ring of orthostats until it bent inwards at 25 feet to the left of orthostat No. 1 in front of the entrance. During the cutting of the trench, and especially for the final 80 yards of it, the work was under archaeological supervision.

Generally the stratification was as follows—6" of modern humus, 12" of loose rubble or collapsed scree from the top of the original cairn, and below this the ancient turf and humus. The final 10 yards of the trench was

⁸op. cit., p. 118.

cut through collapsed cairn material only. Near the revetment kerb the workmen encountered some of the timbers used for shoring and propping by the Board of Works staff in 1936.

Finds—(Fig. 1)

At a few points along the trench superficial finds were made—iron nails, iron slag and fragments of “modern” delph. In the old humus sealed by the collapsed cairn material a few amorphous flints were found, one calcined from heat. The most important find was that made at a point midway between the southernmost of the three huge orthostats fronting the entrance and the next in line, a stone 50 feet away. In what showed to be a disturbed patch was found in a little pile, at a depth of a few inches in the old (pre-collapse) surface, a chipped flint adze made from a core, and ten well-struck flakes all of which showed signs of having been used. The adze is 4 inches long, the flakes from 2 to 3 inches. From the manner in which they were found it was evident that they had been intentionally *deposited* there, not just dropped casually.

Only in north-east Ireland, notably in Co. Antrim, is flint found in quantity and in nodules large enough to be fashioned into implements as large as the Newgrange adze. Elsewhere in Ireland, and especially in inland areas, the supply is sporadic and limited to small glacial pebbles of not more than an inch or so in length. The Newgrange flints were not made from local material. They were imports from the north-east and everything about them—size, technique of manufacture, white porcellaneous patina—points to their place of origin as being somewhere in Co. Antrim, along the east coast or around Lough Neagh. There the type could be dated to late Mesolithic times, but flint types and techniques are notoriously long-lived and flint flakes like those found at Newgrange are known from Neolithic and early Bronze Age Passage Grave sites, or from 2500 to 1500 B.C.

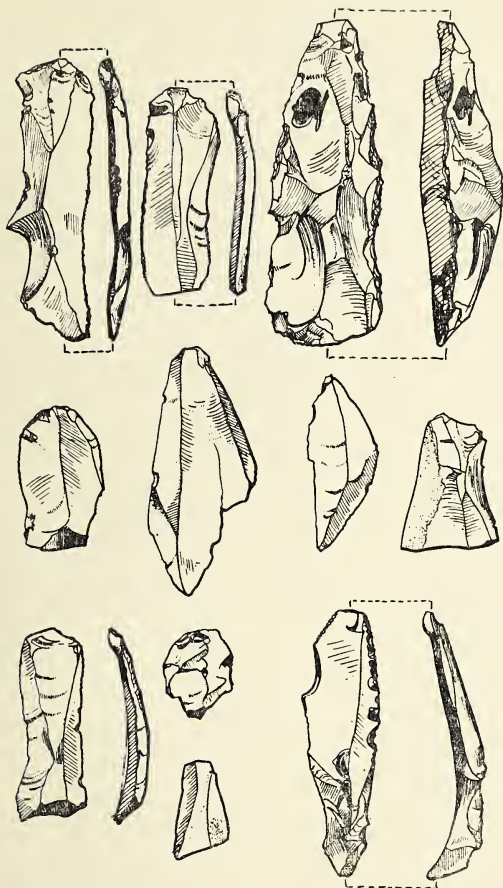
The dating of the Newgrange flints is unimportant, but the place and circumstance of their discovery is of some significance. It is suggested that the tumulus originally was surrounded by a circle of some 35 equally spaced standing stones, only 12 of which now remain. In the published plan of Newgrange a stone is indicated at the spot where our find was made and I satisfied myself from the nature and depth of the fill that a pit did in fact exist at this point. It may also be assumed that the deposit of flint objects at the mouth of this pit or stone socket was in the nature of a votive offering undertaken as part of the ritual and ceremonial attendant on the erection of one of the stones in the great circle. This is a well-known ancient custom attested from prehistoric sites elsewhere. A similar assemblage of flints was found in a corresponding position in the Court Cairn at Ballyalton, Co. Down.⁹ The flints are deposited in the National Museum.

P. J. Hartnett.

THE DISPERSAL OF THE ULAID.

This title expresses the subject of a section of tribal histories contained in a MS, Laud 610 in the Bodleian Library. These histories deal with many unknown people and places but they also contain matter relating to the

⁹*Proc. Belfast Nat. Hist. and Phil. Soc.*, 1933-4, pp. 83 and 98 and fig. IV.

FIG. 1. *Newgrange Flints* ($\frac{2}{3}$)

national epic, the Tain. Whatever has any bearing on the Tain is important, not merely to Celtic scholars, but to all Eire. I offer here a translation of the section referred to.¹ It is headed: "Why the Northern exiles came to Munster." This is the cause of the coming of the Ciarraigi of the four Arad and Dal Medruath to Munster. Firstly, the Ui Neill and Connaught through hostility to their grandfather attacked the Ulaid, because of the War of Fergus son of Ros Roich from whom they descend. Fergus deserted the Ultu for a woman's war, viz. the war of Medb of Cruachan, for the ruthless slaughter and attack (?) of a woman against his own race. Three families sprang from him in exile: Cland Moga Thoeth from whom descend the Ciarraigi,² Cland Fir Deodae from whom descend Dal Medruath,³ Dal Fir Tlachgo from whom descend the four Arad.⁴ They first dwelt at Temair until the times of Niall son of Eochu⁵ (Niall Niamgiallach).⁶ (Hua son of Dorna and En son of Mauguirn first took Irluachair with Corc son of Lugaid.⁷ Corp mas Ainirmac went. Coinniu mac Segha was at Dun Choinnenn and at Comarthu. Three sons of Coel Uira were in Curchu and a branch of them in Aidniu, others of them at Dubcechair).⁸

Cethernd mac Fintain (from whom descend Coreo Selgind) was killed by Fergus. Fer Deodae son of Fergus killed him. The Ultu punished Cethernd for killing Fecc because he did not forsake (?) his father. Carthind⁸ was run through. Cethernd was killed by the advice of a druid and the prophecy of his daughter.

Solchend son of Cethernd killed Fecc son of Fergus. That Solchend was famous from whom the poets rightly derive Corco Solgind, though Corco hAlchind is spoken in ignorance. It is of them Lucrith Moccu Chiara sang this story:

"The love of friendly Medb for the strong hero son of Roth:-
Thou wilt lay a strong obligation on Fergus on how to approach me (as) thou didst imagine. (?)
He asked for an alliance with her, a resort to deserts of evil fame—
A bad preparation, the cause why a swift army was ordered.
Ailill waited in a thick-grassed(?) wood seeking a rival.
The goodly champion perished by the swift spear of the great warrior with great horror and fear;
A strong hearted hero who was not weak or exhausted in battle.
The men of Eire's lofty plain proclaim the hero—strength of Fergus,
Captain of the foreign hosts of Ulad of the clear battle-cries (?).
He was no silent thunderbolt of battle, striking death.
He overthrew without fear of death. He frequented frequent danger.
There was a long tribute of cows from the Ulaid.
Medb repelled great war. An evil shot will cause a deed of wide effect.
He left a bad sequence of lamentation, of loathing, to his children.
The coming of Fergus with fianna swiftly challenged Conchobar along with this wary charioteers of Ulad.
The host marked out the land, a measure of true power.
His sons divided up great land at gloomy. . . . Temair.
They left the wide plains of Ulad. They parted from the festive prince.
Fiacc the fierce son of Fergus turned back to obstinate battle.
He strode the stride of a hostage.

¹Transcribed in ZCP VIII, p. 305.

²In Kerry, Roscommon, Mayo.

³In Co. Clare.

⁴In Limerick and Tipperary.

⁵Circa 380-405, A.D.

⁶An interpollation of Kerry traditions.

Another reference gives Ue mac D, as "Ai mac Torna eiceas", the poet, Lec 120 V a.

⁷A Munster Prince of the fourth century.

⁸Unknown.

He saved the possessions of his noble father. He resolutely knitted together friendship. His brave noble children took possession. He attained to the estate of his famous grandfather. He gave cattle to a prophetess.
It was the cause of Fergus' evil death the united enmity (?) . . .

Cethernd and Carhind . . .

The hatred of evil Fergus shall be sung concerning his death for preparing to shed most pure blood, for heaped corpses at Latharnu.

Solchend inflicts an easy vengeance on the proud guilty (?) race.

He fought with strength. He slew Fiacc the grandson of Roch Rodani.

There was a proud swift advance of Cland Cethernd.

The Ultu grieved that Fiacc was slain, a slaughter famed in song.

They did not tarry in an unknown assembly-ground. They separated at Bri nAiriga.⁹

They reached Tethba¹⁰ across the pool of Ethnell¹¹ as far as Muman of the dwellings (?) Oengas¹² grandson of Conall received them all, a famous prince. They destroyed a proud rich territory from high Temair—a terrible host.

Dreaming over ancient lore we know of the dispersal of the Ulaid with lamentation and slaughter and battle: separation without profit (?).

There is no mention in the Tain of such dispersal but the genealogies confirm it. The following trace their descent to ancestors from Uladh—

From Fergus: Ciarraigi, West and South, Dal Medruad, the four Arad, Conmaicne, Fir Maige Fenes, Orbraige, Benraige, Corco Ulum, etc.

From Celtchar: Semoine of the Desi, Cland Uaithnia, Dal nDruithnia in Connaught; Caenraigh, in Limerick and Connaught,

From Conall Cernach: the Laoiges Retae in Leix and Ossory.

All these families must have had some reason for so wide-spread a belief in their origin. After the defeat and ravaging of Uladh as depicted in the Tain a flight from their own land is understandable. They would bring with them memories of the Tain as embodied in their family traditions.

The opening prose passage is written for Munster families. The poem has a wider scope. The author, Lucrith moccu Chiara, descendant of Ciar, was evidently a member of the Ciarraigi. Lucrith derives from the Ogham, Lugaqrithos. I know only one other instance of the name: "Lucrith abbot of Clonmacnois died 752 AU." McNeill says: "The surname formula Maccu Chiara can hardly be of later date than 750 if it can be no later." The poet and the abbot may be the same person. The writer of the prose passage quotes Lucrith to confirm the statement that the dispersal was caused by a vendetta between Cland Fergusa and Cland Cethernd. There evidently existed a well-known saga on the subject. Incidents are referred to as matters of common knowledge, as "famed in song." There is no allusion in the Tain cycle to such a story. The poem begins with the death-tale of Fergus. It goes on to the deeds of his son, Fiacc, and his death by Solchend son of Cethernd. Apparently Cethernd was blamed for the deed and condemned. Who killed him is not clear. The prose says Fergus and Fer Deodac. The tain episode "Cethern's strait-fight" describes him fighting Medb's army single-handed and being cut to pieces. There is no mention of his son or his clan. The redactors of the Tain were not interested in Cland Cethernd who remained in possession when Cland Fergusa were driven out.

There are allusions which give some idea of Cethernd's territory and position. The Tain associates him and his father Fintan with Dun-da-bend¹³ on the Bann, and with Magh Line, the district east of Lough Neagh.¹⁴

⁹Unidentified.

¹⁰Westmeath and Longford.

¹¹The river Inny.

¹²Unidentified.

¹³Mount Sandal near Coleraine.

¹⁴Todd Lectures vol. 1. p. 3.

Mesca Ulad says "the province was in three parts when at it's best—between Cu Chulaind—and Conchobar—and Fintan's third was from Traigh Thola (Strangford.) to Rinn Seimne (Island Magee) and Latharna" (Larne). Cethernd's descendants were the Corco Soillgend Semne.¹⁵ The poem alludes to a fight at Latharnu. None of the texts mention Dun Cethernd. But there was such a place. It is mentioned in A.U. in 628, and in 680 as a royal residence where two Antrim princes were burnt to death. The name doubtless commemorates the founder or most distinguished owner. This can be no other than Cethern of the Tain Age.

It is worth noting that the description of him in the Tain differs widely from that of other nobles of Conchobar's army. Their dress and equipment are rich and colourful. But Cethernd: "a greyish wild stark naked man in a chariot without arms except for an iron spit with which he prodded his driver and horses". This may be imaginary, but it exactly agrees with the representation of Celtic chariot-fighters when stripped for battle on Roman coins of the last century B.C.¹⁶

There were doubtless other causes for this dispersal of Ulidian families besides local vendettas. The fall of Conchobar's Kingdom, the loss of Emain Macha, would account for much. So when Senchin Torpeist sought to recover the Tain epic he did not find it in Uladh. It was best preserved in Connaught among the descendants of Fergus. Hence the meaning of the fable that Fergus himself, rose from the dead to recite the whole to Ninnine and Murgan.

M. E. Dobbs.

¹⁵Lecan 125a 44.

¹⁶Antiquity vol. XXVI. p. 87.

OBITUARY

THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY

Readers of this Journal have heard with sorrow of the death of Thomas F. O'Rahilly which took place on November 16th, 1953, after a lifetime devoted to Irish scholarship. Even in his early days in Blackrock College O'Rahilly showed a keen interest in the Irish language, although his subjects for special study were the classical language in which he won a scholarship to the Royal University in 1901. In University College, Dublin, he studied Irish under Rev. Professor Hogan and won the O'Curry Prize in 1903. After his graduation in 1905 he taught Irish for a year in the College, after which he took a post in the Four Courts which he held till his appointment to the chair of Irish in Trinity College in 1919. From 1929 to 1940 he held a Research Professorship in Gaelic Languages in the National University, first in University College, Cork, and later in Dublin. On the establishment of the School of Celtic Studies in the Dublin Institute in 1940 he was appointed a Senior Professor, and he was Director from 1941 to 1947. In 1952 he was appointed Honorary Professor of the Irish Language in Trinity College, and he held this post at the time of his death. In recent years the Universities of Aberdeen and Dublin conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on him, which he thus held in addition to the honorary degree of Doctor of Celtic Studies conferred on him by the National University in 1928.

O'Rahilly loved the Irish language passionately, and for more than twenty years he concentrated on Modern Irish studies in which field he has never had an equal. His particular interest was in the Irish of West Kerry, but he studied all the other major Irish dialects as well as Scottish Gaelic and Manx. At the same time he continued to broaden his knowledge of other subjects, including Old Irish, Welsh, folklore and mythology. For nearly forty years his publications reflected his personal researches in the Celtic languages, and in all we find a characteristic attention to detail, knowledge of sources, and a capacity for co-ordinating a diversity of material far beyond most of his contemporaries. This published work includes editions of verse such as *Dánta Grádha*, *Dánfhocail*, *Búirdiún Bheaga*, and *Measgra Dánta*, his masterly edition of Flaithrí Ó Maoilchonaire's *Desiderius* in which he displayed his detailed knowledge of Early Modern Irish, the first fasciculus of the Royal Irish Academy's *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, and above all his *Irish Dialects Past and Present* which was truly a pioneer work in a neglected field of Gaelic studies.

It would be difficult to say when O'Rahilly turned aside from linguistic to historical studies, for he was always interested in the historical background to his researches on the language, and for years he had been working at problems which concerned both historical and linguistic evidence. At any rate we know that he spent a great deal of the last twenty years of his life engaged in the study of the history, religion and mythology of the Irish and other Celtic peoples, and his works *The Goidels and their Predecessors*, *The Two Patricks*, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, and his paper on *Buchet the Herdsman* in the Bergin memorial number of *Ériu*, are a monument to his originality in this sphere. Although to most readers of this journal these works will be of greater interest than his linguistic studies. O'Rahilly's closest acquaintances regretted the fact that his absorption in historical research in recent years prevented him from completing a number of linguistic works which he had on hands. His death at the age of seventy-one, when he might have added much to our knowledge in many branches of learning had he been spared for a few more years, has brought to an end a glorious era in Irish studies which produced such scholars as MacNeill, Macalister, Bergin and O'Rahilly himself.

Go dtuga Dia solas na bhflathas dá anam.

BRIAN Ó CUÍV.

BOOK REVIEWS

FIFTY-EIGHTH REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS. Dublin, Stationery Office, 4s.

The appearance of this long-awaited report is very welcome, for the last of these important surveys, for the years 1929 and 1930, was published so long ago as 1936. Mr. Diarmid Coffey, the Assistant Deputy Keeper, who signs the report, states that it is based on one prepared by the late Mr. J. F. Morrissey, then Deputy Keeper, covering the years 1931-2. The publication of this was unavoidably delayed for so long that the present report has to cover also the period from then up to the beginning of 1951.

Since the publication of the Fifty-Seventh Report important collections of documents have been deposited in the Public Record Office both by government departments and by private donors. The former include the normal increments from the various departments; the latter are of a varied nature, being particularly valuable both topographically and genealogically—much, for instance, has been done towards building up an extensive collection of testamentary documents to serve as substitutes for material destroyed in 1922. The Betham genealogical abstracts of wills and letters of administration, purchased in 1935, is a case in point, and there are many other important collections. The records of the Quit Rent Office, including Books of Survey and Distribution and original Down Survey Barony maps, are of outstanding importance. Another valuable collection is the material for the history of Kilkenny in the 17th and 18th centuries, compiled by the late Mr. J. G. A. Prim. A full calendar of these papers is supplied, as well as an index to an extensive collection of correspondence, &c., the Church Miscellaneous Documents, 1652-1795, destroyed in 1922.

It is satisfactory to learn of the extensive card indexes now available in the Public Record Office and of the arrangements for microfilming and photostats. It is good news too that there are being prepared with a view to publication a further volume of the Statute Rolls of the Parliaments of Ireland extending to 28 Henry VIII, and a further instalment of Justiciary Rolls, the first three volumes of the draft manuscript calendar, *temp.* Edward II, prepared before 1922 by J. Mills, Deputy Keeper, F. Langman and J. F. Morrissey. Through its membership of the British Records Association the Public Record Office has received many valuable accessions of testamentary and other material. These will be found listed in the impressive calendar of acquisitions by purchase, donation, &c. All concerned are to be congratulated on a most valuable report.

E. ST. J. B.

THE CIVIL SURVEY, A.D. 1654-1656. VOL. IX: COUNTY OF WEXFORD. Edited by Robert C. Simington (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1953, £2 10s. 0d.).

The value of the Civil Survey, thanks to the labours of Dr. Simington, is in no danger of being overlooked. The local particulars, giving the names and residences of owners of lands, boundaries of barony, parish and townland valuations, details of the nature of the soil, with much else of geographical, historical and sociological information, are of the greatest interest. Place-names, native families, grantees of lands, and details of crown lands, church lands, tithes, &c. provide a wealth of information of a unique kind. This is now available for the greater part of ten counties, all that remains of an original survey of 27 of the 32 Irish counties.

County Wexford has some special features of interest. It was one of the earliest districts in the country to be settled by the Anglo-Norman adventurers, and many of the first settlers were men of Flemish descent, coming from the Flemish colony planted by Henry I in Pembrokeshire. These brought with them, as is well known, their own peculiar dialect, which persisted in the county up to comparatively recent times. "Here the ancestral tenures of Gael and Norman", existing in 1640, are recorded, and among the names of ancient proprietors are, by virtue of this history, many of Flemish and Welsh origin.

Dr. Simington provides, as in each of his previous volumes, a general introduction to the history and problems of the Civil Survey. He also gives us a special introduction to this volume, which comprises all the baronies in the county, with the exception of that of Forth. He refers to various works which will help the Wexford topographer,

especially the volumes of Hore's history of the county, and the analyses of the relevant feodaries (13th to 15th centuries), showing proprietors and knights' fees, recently published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. In addition, he draws attention to the topographical information afforded by the collection of Quit Rent Office maps now in the Dublin Public Record Office. In these, the denominations of land, the subject of the Down Survey, have been superimposed on the 6 in. Ordnance maps, thus enabling changes in boundaries and in names of parishes and townlands to be detected almost at a glance. He adds two valuable appendices, one an extract from the Wexford *Book of Survey and Distribution*, which supplies some of the details for the Barony of Forth which the missing Civil Survey for that barony provided. The other appendix is a list of the Hore MSS. at St. Peter's College, Wexford, a collection of great importance for local history.

Dr. Simington and the Irish Manuscripts Commission are to be congratulated on the completion of this undertaking, one of great value for topography, genealogy, and other allied subjects.

E. ST. J. B.

VICTORIAN ARCHITECT. By J. D. Forbes. Pp. xiv, 153. Frontispiece and Pls. 30. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1953. 5 dollars.

There are very few biographies of Irish architects; entries in the D.N.B. or Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists give most of what is on record about them. Mulvany's Life of James Gandon is an exception; Burgh, Cassells, Cooley and Ivory, who, with Lovett Pearce and Gandon, gave Dublin the authentic atmosphere of a capital city—have never found biographers willing to write full length Lives. Francis Johnston, greatest of the Irish architects in the early decades of the XIXth century, has engaged the pen of Mr. John Betjeman (*The Pavilion*, 1946) in a short and well illustrated article, but the Morrison and Pain dynasties (to say nothing of the later Deanes) have received little attention from writers. Architects' drawings all too often find their way into the waste paper basket or disappear, as did a whole portfolio of Gandon's work, fortuitously preserved for over a century, within quite recent times.

In this small book we are presented, by America, with a very full biography of an architect, of lesser calibre than the masters, who practised in the South of Ireland up to the middle of the last century and then emigrated to America to carry on busily there in Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin and Illinois for the rest of a long life. It was towards the end of his career, at the request of one of his family, that he set down the story of his life and this record it is that has made possible the writing of the book now under review.

William Tinsley was born in Clonmel in 1804. The son, grandson and great-grandson of builders he had architecture in his blood and he began active life in the actual practice of building as a contractor. Though without formal education as an architect he gained much from this practical experience—of a kind vouchsafed to few architects—which was of value to him when he later began formal practice as an architect. His first work as such was the still standing Lakefield House, Co. Tipperary. It is the most notable example of his early period: a simple, symmetrical, wide-eaved block of the Classic type so characteristic of rural—and suburban—Ireland in the first decades of the XIXth century. Its design is dignified and much more satisfactory, in fact, than the pseudo-Gothic and 'Romantic' Tudor styles—Abbotsford Gothic—which were becoming popular and were spreading over Britain and Ireland in the pre-Famine period. Tullamaine Castle (about 1835) is one of Tinsley's works in this line but that he did not desert the Classic mode entirely is shown by the Clonmel Methodist chapel, a quiet, dignified and well-proportioned building in the Neo-Greek manner. Tinsley did much work for the Marquess of Waterford and one of his most individual buildings was done for that nobleman: the small, stone-built police barracks—now altered into a residence—still standing at the east end of Portlaw village.

The slump conditions which followed the Famine affected Tinsley's practice so adversely that he decided to emigrate, with his family, to America. The voyage, in a sailing vessel, was a harrowing experience, and the early years in the new land were filled with struggle and discouragement, but Tinsley eventually established a busy practice. This was mainly in academic and ecclesiastical buildings. Most of his American works, if not inspired, are quite up to and, in many cases, in advance of American standards of design at that period, especially in the states west of the Ohio. Though the styles he adopted—like those of his earlier period—are in great measure

derived from the copybooks of designs issued in such numbers in the early decades of the century, he was not singular in this: the influence of published designs was potent. It still is—few architects, even of the present day, can claim they are unaffected by the illustrations which fill the pages of the professional journals.

That Tinsley was an accomplished freehand draughtsman is well shown in his sketches of personalities at the William Smith O'Brien trial in Clonmel, already published in our Journal. (1953. Pt. 1.)

This book is a valuable addition to architectural biography. Would that similar treatment could be given to other little-known but competent architects of Tinsley's generation in Ireland.

H. G. L.

THE ART AND ANTIQUE RESTORER'S HANDBOOK. By George Savage. Pp. 133. Rockliff Publishing Corporation, 1954. 15s.

The sub-title of this publication states that it is "A Dictionary of Materials and Processes used in the Restoration and Preservation of all Kinds of Works of Art." Within the limits inevitably imposed by considerations of space, this description of the contents is reasonably accurate and the claim that "all those who own or have in their care works of art and craftsmanship, as well as craftsmen who undertake the delicate work of cleaning, repair, preservation and restoration, will find this an essential reference book" is not unduly exaggerated. Most of the problems connected with old furniture, silver, bronzes, pewter, pottery and porcelain, glass, ivories, pictures, prints, miniatures, etc., etc., are dealt with under alphabetically arranged headings and supplemented by clear explanations of the uses (and possible abuses) of the processes, tools and chemicals involved.

In this reviewer's opinion, however, there are two aggravating if relatively unimportant omissions. Thus, whereas the fortunate possessor of valuable old rugs will find two pages of advice allotted to the subject, the possessor of old tapestries must be content with one not very helpful reference in the rather inadequate section devoted to textiles in general. But these are minor points. They do not really detract from the general value of the book, nor from its many very obvious advantages—ease of consultation, a bibliographical guide to further specialised information, an ample index and remarkable lucidity of exposition.

A. K. L.

TEACH YOURSELF ARCHÆOLOGY. By S. Graham Brade-Birks. English Universities Press Ltd. Price 6s.

The aim of *Teach Yourself Archæology* is to acquaint the reader with as wide a view of as many aspects of Archæology as possible and to encourage him to pursue the study of the past. It will undoubtedly succeed in giving the beginner some understanding of many lines which archæological enquiry can take. In fact the definition of the subject is so wide as to include place-names, personal names, folklore, heraldry and not a little of history; even the preparation of records of modern happenings for the future historian is considered within its scope.

The work is arranged in twenty-three chapters and the reader is invited to take them in what order he pleases. About half the chapters are devoted to a brief account of British Archæology from the earliest times to the seventeenth century and even later. The remainder, apart from introductory chapters, deals with a variety of special branches including soil science, names, scripts, heraldry. It is obvious that in the space of a mere 200 pages such a vast field can only be sketched. Indeed from the prehistorians point of view this sketch is far from adequate. For instance, the Neolithic is very meagrely dealt with and in fact this section is largely devoted to Stonehenge. In dealing with the Bronze Age—Iron Age chronology the Celtic immigrations are used as a framework. The author warns that this is a bold approach, but when one remembers how often the same Celts have led even seasoned experts astray, it is obvious that this is not the best course to set for the beginner. The suggestions for further reading have many strange omissions.

Probably the best chapters in the book and certainly the most valuable for the serious student, are those on soil. This subject promises to be of very great importance in excavation and it is one on which the author speaks with special authority. In view of Professor M. J. O'Kelly's work on this question and its application to Irish and British sites—a work in which Dr. S. Graham Brade-Birks collaborated—this section will be of particular interest to workers here.

Perhaps the fairest criticism of the book is that no one man could hope to have dealt satisfactorily with such an enormous range of subjects. Yet it has the virtue that it does show the beginner the wide scope of archaeology. It is less successful in showing its limitations. The enthusiasm of the author will doubtless gain many converts to the subject but, despite his frequent warnings, there is somewhat of an air of confidence, of rapid success which may, in the long run, prove discouraging. But, after all, is not this the psychology of most "teach yourself" systems.

The price is very moderate and though the work is intended largely for British readers, the Irish reader will not go unrewarded. He will undoubtedly learn a lot with little effort.

R. DE V.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE IRISH COUNTRYSIDE. (Third edition, 1953). By Seán P. Ó Ríordáin. Methuen. Price 15s.

To all interested in Irish Archaeology a concise, straightforward account of the major field antiquities of Ireland is a necessity. In 1942 Professor Ó Ríordáin in his first edition of *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside* made such an account available and the rapidity with which the earlier editions were taken up speaks for the appreciation they enjoyed. The present edition in a greatly improved format not only brings the material up-to-date but considerably expands it. In doing so the work loses nothing of its clarity and simplicity.

But this clarity of presentation should not obscure the fact that the book contains a wealth of knowledge and a rich fund of information, much of which is not readily accessible elsewhere. The author's extensive experience has enabled him to present an authoritative and balanced picture.

The net is cast wide. The examples used in the present text extend even further than in previous editions and, if it still remains true that Munster and the eastern half of Ireland provide the majority of specimens cited, it could not have been otherwise. The author, while drawing on earlier documentation of the monuments, rightly stresses the more adequately known material and the dearth of up-to-date reports from some western districts could not fail to be reflected. It is in fact among the primary aims of the book to stimulate endeavour to extend the range of adequately recorded sites. The book maintains the closest contacts with the field and its authority based largely on first hand knowledge is thereby greatly enhanced. Indeed, to a marked degree, the wealth of material over so wide an area is due to Professor Ó Ríordáin's own achievements.

In the matter of illustration it is lavish and comprehensive. Even to run through the photographs is itself a useful introduction to the sites. The reproductions are first rate. The inclusion of an index and its handy reference to a most helpful map of sites is a very welcome addition.

The achievement of the primary objective of the book, to supply the needs of the non-expert, is assured. It does much more. The student approaching the subject for the first time will, with little effort, become acquainted with the sites on which much of the study of Irish prehistory must depend and the suggestions for further reading will direct him in the pursuit of additional detail. The specialist will find the very wide collection of examples of great value and, though the author is sparing and cautious in the use of theory, will note some important suggestions. The treatment of the lines of development leading to the ring-fort opens a new approach to one of the most vital questions in Irish prehistory. To the foreign worker this book should be of special interest. In the absence of reliable general works on Irish prehistory it is difficult for the outsider to form a balanced picture of the archaeological content of the country. For the field monuments he will find it here and thus avoid the mistake, so often in evidence, of treating the exceptional feature as characteristic of the whole.

The book is especially welcome in times when increased clearance operations on the land spell danger for so many of our monuments. One would like to see it widely circulated in the country for the knowledge that it imparts and the interest in the antiquities that it will foster, would surely assist in stemming the tide of destruction. If one may offer a suggestion—the book provides an outstanding opportunity for the establishment of Archaeological literature in the Irish language. An Irish version would undoubtedly have a wide appeal and would enlist much willing support in the efforts to preserve our monuments. It would doubly assist in the preservation, not only of our antiquities but also of our language, which is the most significant link in the Irish heritage.

R. DE V.

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF CO. WICKLOW: BAR. OF TALBOTSTOWN LR. By Liam Price. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Price 2s.

District Justice Price, the past-president of the R.S.A.I. has given us another instalment of his PLACE-NAMES OF THE COUNTY WICKLOW in which he deals with the barony of Talbotstown Lower. It follows the very commendable pattern of the earlier numbers of this series. The townlands in each parish are arranged in alphabetical order. The author then gives us an admirable lesson on the scientific approach to the study of our place-names, setting out in chronological order the documentary forms of each name and quoting the sources where each occurs, (date, name-form, source). Sub-denominations within each townland are similarly treated and are listed with the townland in which they are situated. The author has made himself familiar not only with the names but also with the actual topographical features to which they refer. Of considerable importance and interest are the historical and archaeological notes and references. Numerous examples could be cited, Church Mountain (p. 186), Kilbaynet (p. 191), Art's Grave (p. 244) Boolia More. In the latter case he points out that it is more likely that it was here Aedh son of Cathal Crobderg was killed and not at Ballymore Eustace as suggested by the editor of the Annals of Innisfallen.

Despite the extensive research and the mass of evidence produced, Mr. Price in many instances refrains from giving a final verdict as to the correct Gaelic rendering. He does suggest forms but where he has reason for doubt he very wisely indicates such doubt by prefixing a note of interrogation to the forms suggested.

An index in alphabetical order of the Anglicised name-forms in this book and the preceding volume is of great assistance for ready reference. The completion of County Wicklow after this fashion will be eagerly awaited by everybody interested in the study of our place-names.

P. N.

COIS FEOIRE. By Eoghan Ó Ceallaigh. "KILKENNY PEOPLE." Price 2s. 6d.

This booklet which deals with the County Kilkenny is a welcome addition to the literature on Irish Place-names. The author, Mr. Eoghan Ó Ceallaigh, has devoted considerable time and energy as well as expense not only in documentary research but in extensive field work involving the collection of local pronunciation, folklore and history.

The author has selected the baronies as convenient sub-divisions of the county on which to base his study and these are taken in alphabetical order. In each barony the parishes are treated in alphabetical order also. The information on the townland names in each parish is set out in three columns headed respectively: Name in English; Name in Irish; Translation. Under Name in English the townlands are listed alphabetically. The column headed Translation carries explanatory notes and references to sources.

As against an alphabetical arrangement of all the townland names in the county, the method here adopted of listing them under their respective parishes preserves them in their natural territorial order and has the further advantage of enabling a person to compare them *en bloc* with the corresponding nomenclature in the Book of Survey and Distribution, the Civil Survey (that portion which survives; in this case, Kilkenny City), The Census of 1659 and the much later Tithe Applotment Books. In his foreword the author specifies the sources consulted but it is a pity that he has not cited them systematically in his text. A map of the county showing the baronies would be very desirable in view of the fact that the barony has been adopted as the main territorial unit. It is to be hoped that this, and an alphabetical index of the parishes will be included in later editions.

Mr. Ó Ceallaigh has every reason to be proud of this booklet.

P. N.

JOURNAL OF THE GALWAY ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VOL. XXV, nos. 1 & 2, 1952.

During a stay of some two and a half years in Ireland as French Consul, Coquebert de Montbret made three long journeys which brought him to the most remote parts of the island. Síle Ní Chinnéide, M.A. gives his notes made on his travels between Loughrea and Claregalway, when, in May 1791, he set out on his third journey with a view to exploring the west and north. In "Recent Archaeological Finds from Connaught," P. J. Hartnett, M.A. describes the prehistoric material which forms the vast bulk of acquisitions from that region in the years 1947 to 1952, T. S. Ó

Máille, Ph.D. elucidates four Galway place-names for which no satisfactory explanation has so far been given. "O'Malleyes between 1651 and 1725", by Sir Owen O'Malley, is a sequel to an article in the *Galway Journal* for 1950 and to a second article published separately under the Society's auspices in 1952. Ruaidhrí de Valéra and Seán Ó Nualláin describe a Cruciform Passage-Grave situated near the eastern boundary of the townland of Behy about four miles north-west of the village of Ballycastle, Co. Mayo. Tá alt suimiúil ar "Muircheartach Ó Domhnalláin, Easbog Chluain Fearta 1695-1706," leis an Athair E. Mac Fhinn.

C. S.

COUNTY LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL, VOL. XII, 4, 1952.

The Louth Archæological Society is now more than fifty years in existence and the story of its foundation and its first sixteen years, by Miss Comerford, will be read with interest. "The Interpretation of Heraldry," by Ailfrid Mac Lochlainn, M.A., gives much useful information to the antiquarian and general reader for the interpretation of heraldic devices. Séamus O Ceallaigh gives "A Comment on Father Aubrey Gwynn's 'The Medieval Province of Armagh' ". The continuation of "Townland Survey of County Louth," by Rev. Dermot MacIvor, deals with the Townlands of Millockstown and Blakestown. Shorter articles in this issue of the Journal are: "Graves discovered at Dundalk in 1881," "Boazio's May of Ireland, 1599," "Supplement to Dundalk Hearth Money Roll," transcribed by Rev. Dermot MacIvor from a manuscript of the late Canon Leslie, "The Bellew-Nugent Tomb in Dundalk," by H. G. Tempest, and "Note on Tithe Census of Kilsaran Parish," by Rev. Dermot MacIvor.

C. S.

JOURNAL OF THE CO. KILDARE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, VOLUME XIII, No. 4, 1953.

Seán P. Ó Ríordáin describes a Gold Hair-Ring which was found by Mr. Robert H. Smith of Harristown, when he was ploughing in a field north of Harristown House. "Boundaries Survey, 1836, Athy and Naas," by Brian J. Cantwell, gives extracts from the survey dealing with these two towns. Ada K. Longfield, M.A., LL.B. (Mrs. H. G. Leask) gives an interesting account of Linen and Cotton Printing at Leixlip in the eighteenth century. Rev. Myles V. Ronan's informative account of Burgage, County Wicklow, was written before the works of the Electricity Supply Board and Dublin Corporation were begun on the site. The continuation of "Ordnance Survey Letters for County Kildare" deals with the Parishes of Rathernan, Feighcullen, Kilberry, Killkea, Belan and Grangenolvan. Three interesting papers are: "Rex v. Crossly. A Lecture with Manifestations," by Ailfrid Mac Lochlainn, M.A., "Millicent Legion of Yeomanry Orderly Book," and "Two Souterrains on the Lower Slopes of Tara," by Elizabeth Hickey, B.A. and Etienne Rynne, B.A.

C. S.

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